

# *The Jinnah Anthology*



*M.A. Jinnah*

OXFORD

Heafman





*The casual pen might surely find it easier to describe his limitations rather than to define his virtues... But the true criterion of Jinnah's greatness lies not in the range and variety of his knowledge and experience, but in the faultless perception and flawless refinement of his subtle mind and spirit; not in the diversity of aims and challenge of a towering personality, but rather in a lofty singleness and sincerity of purpose and the lasting charm of a character animated by a brave conception of duty and an austere and lovely code of private honour and public integrity.*

SAROJINI NAIDU  
*'The Nightingale of India'*

SECOND EDITION

# *The Jinnah Anthology*

COMPILED AND EDITED BY  
LIAQUAT H. MERCHANT  
SHARIF AL MUJAHID

A presentation of The Jinnah Society

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# Preface

**T**he *Jinnah Anthology* was first published in 1999. The occasion was the premiere of the film 'Jinnah' produced by Akbar S. Ahmed and directed by Jamil K. Dehlavi at the Governor House, in Karachi. The *Anthology* project was conceived by Liaquat Merchant, President, The Jinnah Society. The Society itself was founded by him in 1997, in collaboration with like-minded people to promote the ideals that Pakistan's founding father had advocated, propagate the principles he had long stood for, and popularize the vision he had bequeathed to the nation he had called into existence on 14-15 August 1947. As a natural corollary to these ennobling objectives, the *Anthology* was meant to document and celebrate the Quaid-i-Azam's life, his work and achievements. It was, thus, also meant to help Pakistanis own up his ideals, his principles, and his vision—own them up to a point that they get sufficiently inspired and motivated to put their shoulder to the task ahead. The task of routinizing his ideals and principles in terms of durable institutions, nation building activities and democratic values underpinning their political culture, and an all-weather code of public morality encompassing the cluster of overarching values and ideals the Pakistanis as a nation subscribe to quintessentially. The *Anthology* venture was, of course, an instant success, as attested to by the reviews in the press and on the electronic media.

The present second edition is a much more enlarged, more methodically planned, and more systematically formatized one. Besides the acknowledgements and the publisher's note, the present volume comprises fourteen sections. Twelve articles were specifically commissioned for the present volume, and these along with some other pieces published earlier comprise the material presented in section 1. It includes thematic essays on some critical aspects of



Jinnah's politics and leadership—such as the sort of constitutional set up visualised by him; his relationship with the princely states; his role in institutionalizing civil liberties, and in emancipating and empowering women; the charismatic dimension of his leadership; his points of convergence and divergence with Kemal Atatürk, the only other saviour the Muslim world had spawned during the twentieth century; how 'the plain Mr Jinnah' got himself transformed into the 'Quaid-i-Azam', of the 1940s; a reconstituted 'portrait' of Jinnah (as against the card-board portrait Pakistanis have been fed hitherto) that emerges from Bolitho's interviews with some two hundred people in Pakistan, India and England who had known Jinnah, some of them closely; the dialectics of his triad motto of 'Faith, Unity and Discipline'; and as seen by Aga Khan III. These essays thus bid fair to initiate new discourses. They also, it is hoped, will serve as a catalyst for more original research on topics that have lain untapped till now, besides contributing considerably towards deconstructing the dominant perspective and constructing a new one.

Section 2 comprises quotes from the Quaid, which together not only yield the broad contours of Jinnah's vision of Pakistan, but also spell out the basics that make that vision so grand, so inspiring, and so eminently germane to the dire task of causing a more congenial cosmos, a better tomorrow, for Pakistan. The material presented here has been extracted from the 'little book', *Quotes from the Quaid*, published by the OUP in 2007. Section 3 consists of excerpts culled from his more important pronouncements which highlight his insistence on civic freedoms, his concern for Muslim welfare, and his core guidelines for the management of affairs in Pakistan. Excerpts from books on the last phase of the Raj, which, *inter alia*, throw a good deal of light on his political behaviour

pattern and leadership style have been included in section 4. Impressions about him by some of his well-known contemporaries such as the Aga Khan III and Lady Wavell are featured in section 5, while section 6 presents personal recollections by other contemporaries. Section 7 includes the tributes paid to him, either during his life time or on his death. Some of the more outstanding articles published over the years have been brought together in section 8, whereas section 9 contains an article on The Jinnah Society. The next four sections include his will, the Dawn Trust, some of his judgments and an obituary from *The Times* (London), respectively. Finally, section 14 presents a chronology of the more important events and benchmarks in his life which delineate his earthly sojourn, from birth to death. This is a revised version of the material presented earlier in the *Quotes from the Quaid*

A glance at the table of contents will indicate that a good deal of credible and significant material has been put together in the present compilation for the first time. Thus the *Anthology* hopefully bids fair to make a notable contribution to the extant body of literature in the Jinnah studies genre. And, finally, it is meant to be a gift to the nation from The Jinnah Society on the Quaid-i-Azam's sixtieth death anniversary.

ILIAQUAT H. MERCHANT, S.I.

SHARIF AL MUJAHID, S.I.



# Publisher's Note

For a country like ours, singularly lacking in uncontroversial heroes, the Quaid was an extraordinary leader. Few dispute his integrity, brilliance, and his capacity for sustained hard work. To have united an economically diverse and multicultural people to work steadily towards one goal, over a considerable period of time, was perhaps an even greater accomplishment than achieving the goal itself.

Such a man and such a life should be studied closely—and emulated. But there are those who would have us read the man in the light of ideas specified by themselves.

It is tempting here to speculate what would have happened if the proponents of the geocentric theory had had their way and stopped all those investigations about the earth's place in the universe which conflicted with their own unalterable views—after all, their ideas seemed to have the sanction of religion and the weight of ancient convictions behind them. What seemed so 'right' then could have stopped short all progress in science and new discoveries in God's astonishing universe. Thank God then for those headstrong and defiant souls whose search for the unadorned and unadulterated truth could not be sidetracked by dogmas.

The lessons of history are important as they tell us that it is the search for truth alone that can lead us in the direction of discovery, enlightenment, and knowledge. And yet, in the case of the Quaid, we distort facts in the name of ideology and religion. We allow myths to grow around his life and personality, choking out the truth from the grasp of the younger generation who should be studying him in the light of his life, times, and principles and not wrapped up in other people's personal 'ideologies'. They could come up with new perceptions and be better able to

appreciate his complex personality and see the worth of his principles if allowed intellectual freedom

Without giving successive generations a chance to evaluate and sum up the man, we have made the Quaid's sainthood a *fait accompli*. For example, when we add *rehmatullah alaih* after the name of the Quaid (as in many Urdu books), we are actually turning away those who would like to know the man, both in his strengths and weaknesses. We need to have more faith in the intelligence of others and provide them with an abundance of information aimed at many different levels of education and understanding. Books, articles, films, and media programmes expressing numerous points of view can provide this information. Research should be encouraged and archival documents and other materials should be freely available to all those who need or want them—and not just to the chosen few.

Once we have equipped them in this way, we must leave the seekers of knowledge to come to their own conclusions, uninhibited by preconceived notions. For as long as we have developed the younger generation to respect and look for the truth, we need not fear the outcome.

AMEENA SAIYID, OBE  
Managing Director, Oxford University Press,  
Pakistan







*Section 1*

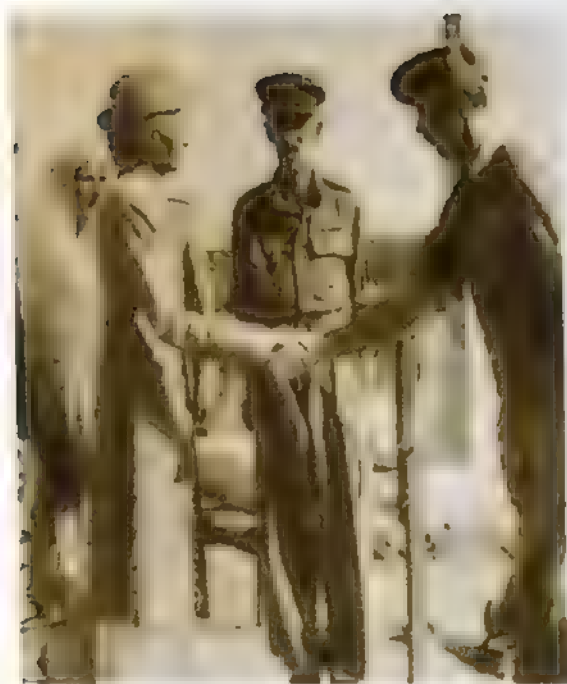
*Original Essays on Jinnah*

# Mohammad Ali Jinnah: One of the Greatest Statesmen of this Century

STANLEY WOLPERT

Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah was not only Pakistan's greatest leader and founding father, but one of the greatest statesmen of this century. His brilliance and inspirational powers in building Pakistan, from the passage of the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution on 23 March 1940 to national statehood seven years later, has no parallel in recent history.

When President Jinnah told his Muslim League in Lahore that 'It has always been taken for granted, mistakenly, that the Musalmans are a minority... The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation...the problem in India is not of an intercommunal but manifestly of an international character', few Englishmen, and virtually no Indian leaders believed he was serious. They all thought he was simply 'bargaining' for more separate electorate seats for Muslims, or more cabinet posts and governmental jobs for League members. They soon learned, of course, that he meant every word he uttered at that first historic meeting of incipient Pakistan's 'Land of the Pure', which would soon be born out of British India's shattered imperium over



*Lieutenant-Colonel Horne shaking hands with the Quaid-i-Azam*



South Asia. Jinnah's legal acuity and firm resolve allowed him to defeat or deflect every attempt to thwart or diminish his demands by Congress leaders, including Nehru and Gandhi, who considered 'Pakistan' a totally unacceptable option. 'I say to the Muslims', Jinnah assured his League in Delhi in 1943,

...a hundred million Muslims are with us. I see...the phoenix-like rise and regeneration of Muslim India from the very ashes of its ruination...a miracle...people who had lost everything and who were placed by providence between the two stones of a mill, not only came into their own in a very short time, but became, after the British, socially the most solid, militarily the most virile, and politically the most decisive factor in modern India.

That miracle, in fact, was in great measure the product of Jinnah's own brilliant strategy, supporting Britain and the Allied powers during the Second World War, rather than choosing, as Congress so inadvisably did, to spend the War years behind prison bars or in terrorist acts, crippling railway lines or blowing up British troops. Instead of seeking to disrupt or destroy, at this hour of gravest danger both to India and the entire civilized world, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah told his loyal followers: 'Now is the time to take up the constructive programme to build up this nation so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan...The goal is near, stand united, persevere and march forward.'

Only so great a leader as Jinnah could have won Pakistan in so short a time. He did not, of course, win all he hoped for, obliged at the last bitter moment by Mountbatten to abandon hopes of keeping Punjab intact and Calcutta as rightful capital of Eastern Pakistan. But he was mortally ill by the eve of his new Nation's birth, and miraculously managed to achieve all he did, hardly breathing a full day without coughing up blood. That August of 1947, he flew to Karachi to preside over and inaugurate the Constituent Assembly, also to serve as Pakistan's first Federal Legislature. His guiding principle, as everyone by now knows, was 'justice and complete impartiality', a worthy legacy to the officials selected and elected to run a great Nation, whose name means 'Land of the Pure'. Though the Quaid was a wealthy man himself,

his compassion and wisdom made him focus on the needs of Pakistan's poorest as well as the freedoms of its richest, most powerful people. He cautioned, moreover, that 'the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State'. He also warned against 'bribery and corruption...really a poison', and against 'the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly'. Jinnah's life was governed by his love of justice, fairness, and the law. He lived abiding by the highest of principles, strict no doubt, often unyielding, yet always fair and just.

Another fond aspiration of Jinnah's last years of life was to achieve 'friendly and cordial' relations between Pakistan and 'Hindustan', as he called India, during his brief tenure as Governor-General. The tragic war over Kashmir that started just a few months after Partition, however, soon turned that hopeful dream into violent reality. Nor has half a century resolved South Asia's most bitter, Pakistan's most painful, and costly conflict. 'I think that we can be of use to each other, not to say the world', Governor-General Jinnah explained to his Nation through the Press. 'Being neighbours, from our side, I do not think you will find goodwill wanting, and I hope...to impress this more upon Hindustan.'

Let us hope, in the promising spirit of this year's Lahore agreement that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's destiny may well be to carry Quaid-i-Azam's dream of South Asian 'friendly and cordial' relations to full fruition by the dawn of the next millennium.

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*This article was originally written for first edition of The Jinnah Anthology, published in 1999, and therefore refers to the political situation at the time*

*The author is a Professor Emeritus, University of California, Los Angeles.*

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# *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*

LIAQUAT H. MERCHANT

In a few years we have made the Muslims of India, who were only a crowd, into a nation. They were a scattered mass, disorganized and apathetic. The Muslim League has electrified them from their stupor and knit them together. We have gone through a process of nationalization and now we have one flag, one platform and one voice.

**T**hus declared Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah while inaugurating the third annual session of the Balochistan Muslim League early in 1943. From 'the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity' as he was then called, to the Quaid-i-Azam preaching one voice, one flag, and one ideal—Pakistan—is a far cry. Starting with an ambition to be a Muslim Gokhale and ending by being the unquestioned leader of India's eighty million Muslims and leading them in their crusade for a separate homeland makes fascinating study.

From his early years, Mohammad Ali Jinnah showed an interest in the life and conditions around him. The small world around him was the object of his interest and public events were the books he studied. It was



expected that he would take over the mantle of his father and continue with his business traditions. But Jinnah had a hidden ambition. In 1892, at the age of sixteen, he left for England primarily with the objective of opening and establishing commercial connections in London.



*Visit to the Pakistan Military Academy*

After his efforts at business proved abortive due to the difficulties his father began to experience in Karachi, Jinnah induced and prevailed upon his father to allow him to stay on and study for the Bar. He enrolled at Lincoln's Inn in London, and began reading for the Bar. He spent most of his spare time at the library of the British Museum reading and studying the lives of great men. During the Round Table Conference in London, he confided in his nephew, Akbar Peerbhoy, that he found the study of the lives of great philosophical and religious thinkers to be a very useful exercise. Fortunately for himself and India, the contacts he made at that time were of the healthiest character and played an important part in the formative process which was to mould him into Jinnah the statesman. In this Dadabhai Naoroji the grand old man of India played a leading part. It was under him that Jinnah received his first lessons in politics and public life. This training and the contacts that he made were not lost on him in later life.

Jinnah was called to the Bar in 1896 at the age of twenty-one and in the same year he returned to India. On arrival in India, Jinnah not only had to face financial difficulties but also litigation. Undaunted, he faced his opponents and in conducting and winning his own case, he registered his first triumph in the practice of the law. He found Karachi too small a field for his legal activities and in 1897 he left for Bombay to set up practice at the High Court.

The first three years were times of severe hardship and trials. But buoyant patience and determination to succeed soon bore fruit. Through the kind offices of an old friend he was granted permission to read in the chambers of Mr Macpherson, the then acting Advocate General of Bombay. This was the starting point which set him on the road to success. Occasional briefs now began to trickle in, the obscure young lawyer soon proved his mettle, and started to lay the foundation of his notable legal success and fame which later resounded throughout the country. Great lawyers and men many years his senior acknowledged him a master in the art of advocacy. He is reported to have had that uncanny ability of making the most complex facts simple and obvious and he could be ferociously aggressive or almost boyishly persuasive as the occasion demanded. Besides, he possessed a



remarkably clear head and that most uncommon of qualities—a fund of common sense.

Those who saw him in action, including Jinnah's nephew Akbar Peerbhoy, maintained that Jinnah always chose the path of honour and integrity. Although the Hindu members of the Bombay Bar disliked and disagreed with his political convictions, they all applauded him for upholding and maintaining the highest traditions of the Bar. He kept aloof from the heat and the dust of the matter-of-fact world with its intrigues and squabbles. Squalor and corruption left him untouched. He was gifted with a unique and characteristic style of speaking which he carried with him into every sphere of life. He had the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery, and a voice which, while lacking in volume had an arresting timbre. With his unusual powers of persuasion, luminous exposition, searching argument, and sound judgement he earned for himself an enviable reputation as a great debater.

In the autumn of 1910 he made his debut in practical Indian politics when he was elected by the Muslims of the Bombay Presidency as their representative to the Supreme Legislative Council. In this role he earned the gratitude of progressive India in supporting liberal measures involving the larger national welfare. Piloting the intricate Wakf Validating Bill successfully through the Council was one of the outstanding performances that stand to his credit.

Jinnah formally enrolled as a member of the All-India Muslim League in 1913 just before he left England. In keeping with his high sense of honour, he made it condition precedent that loyalty to the Muslim League and Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated.

In spite of his past experiences and his failure to achieve unity between the Hindus and Muslims, Jinnah once again set about his task with hope and determination. Due to his cogent exposition and persuasive powers, the Muslim delegation once again renewed the offer of joint electorates throughout India

The attitude of Jinnah at the Round Table Conference was perfectly honourable and completely national. His position was described by the *Manchester Guardian* in the following manner:

Mr Jinnah's position at the Round Table Conference was unique. The Hindus thought he was a Muslim communalist, the Muslims took him to be a pro-Hindu, the princes deemed him to be too democratic, the Britishers considered him an extreme Nationalist with the result that he was a leader without a following

At the conclusion of the Second Round Table Conference in London, Jinnah informed his friends and associates about his future plans. He was despondent and depressed, as he felt that his life's work had failed to bear fruit and he remarked, 'Heaven help India!' So great was his disappointment and so hopeless the situation that he decided to settle down in London and practice at the Privy Council. He was deaf to all appeals and entreaties to return to India

Years rolled by and in their trail came the Government of India Act and Provincial Autonomy. Jinnah, with his usual foresight and vision, realized that both the Muslims and the Hindus were at the threshold of a critical period

It has been narrated by Akbar Peerbhoy, who was on the scene at the time, that the Muslims were groping in the dark for a leader to guide them in their difficult and perilous path. The material was there, but it needed leadership. Muslims sensed the danger of being reduced to everlasting serfdom as a minority with no vestige of power. A few innocuous safeguards were not what they wanted. A few seats in some legislatures were not what they aspired to. Protection of their language and religion was not what they sought. All these they had in ample measure under the British. It was not change of masters they were contemplating. The spirit of



revolt was smouldering and only a spark was needed to ignite it. Jinnah supplied that spark and united the Muslims of India into a nation of eighty million with one voice, one flag, and one ideal. Once a rabble, this nation was now alive to the danger and aware of its destiny. From now on began the new phase of Jinnah's leadership. Jinnah, the leader of the intelligentsia, became the leader of the people. His most ardent admirers were astonished by the ability, confidence, and strength with which he took leadership of a people noted for its apathy and indifference.

In 1940, amidst unparalleled scenes of enthusiasm and jubilation, the Pakistan Resolution was passed at the Lahore Session of the Muslim League. Separate and independent homelands for the Mussalmans became the cherished ideal and Pakistan was given a concrete shape. Presiding on that historic occasion Jinnah said

Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory, and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social, and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and the vital interests of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Success finally came with the creation of the new nation state of Pakistan. Historians would later acknowledge Jinnah's unique unparalleled triple achievement of altering the course of history, changing the map of the world, and creating a nation state.

Pakistanis generally tend to look at Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah from a national perspective. They are constantly shown pictures of Quaid-i-Azam in a grey *sherwani* and a cap. He is stated to have made important policy statements and laid down guidelines to control the destiny of the nation and its people.



Some believe that he was a saviour sent down to liberate the Muslims from slavery under the British, and domination by the Hindus, and to lead them to the promised land. There are others who are inclined to believe that Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the ambitious lawyer turned politician merely fought one more legal case in the court of world opinion.

It is wholly unnecessary to go into the merits or demerits of the claim of either side. The former would like to keep Jinnah in a *sherwani* and cap as the founder of an Islamic nation which he personally called into being. The latter would like to project him as an impeccably dressed barrister, highly intelligent and articulate, a perfect master of strategy and the art of statecraft with a definite leaning towards the disposition of a British aristocrat who dealt with the British and the Hindus on his own terms without getting into a political fray and won the most monumental case in the history of the Bar. The judgment was 'Pakistan'.

Jinnah was a giant among the men of his times who were themselves outstanding leaders. Perception and priorities greatly differ between people. The world is re-assessing Jinnah's contribution and stature as well as his ability and vision as a political leader and statesman. This will be a continuous process and Jinnah will be judged by the totality of his achievements against the background of the situation that he was placed in and the role that he was destined to play. He brought together, under one flag and on one platform, the disorganized and scattered Muslims, and made them realize that they were a nation. He made Pakistan his life's mission. He carved out a state where none existed. He was born to lead. He created a Muslim homeland and brought a new nation on the map of the world.

It is by no means an easy task to understand Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the politician, the leader of the Muslims and the towering statesman. Beverley Nichols, in his famous book *Verdict on India*, describes Jinnah as 'the most important man in Asia' and called his meeting with Mr Jinnah as 'a dialogue with a giant'. He expressed the view that the one hundred million Muslims of India would do exactly as Mr Jinnah bid them as Jinnah had complete control

and following of the Muslims of India. With regard to the British and the Hindu leaders, Beverley Nichols went on to state that Jinnah's criticism of British policies, towards India in general and Muslims in particular, was clear and based on facts. It was not a hotchpotch of hatred and hallucination like that of some Indian politicians. It was a diagnosis. The difference between Jinnah and other Indian politicians was the difference between a surgeon and a witch doctor. Jinnah was a surgeon whom you could trust even though his verdict was harsh.

The completion of half a century of existence is as good a time as any to reflect on what our founding father achieved and the course of action that he expected us to follow. It is by seeking inspiration from the struggle, achievement, and vision of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah that we can mould ourselves into a well-disciplined and organized nation and march forward with determination to achieve peace, progress and prosperity and hold our own with respect and dignity in the comity of nations.

We must ask ourselves whether we, as Pakistanis, have lived up to the hopes and aspirations of our founding father and whether there is any other person or aspect around whom or which we can attempt to bind ourselves into the fabric of the State of Pakistan which surely cannot survive without us in the same manner as we cannot survive in today's world without the continued existence of Pakistan.

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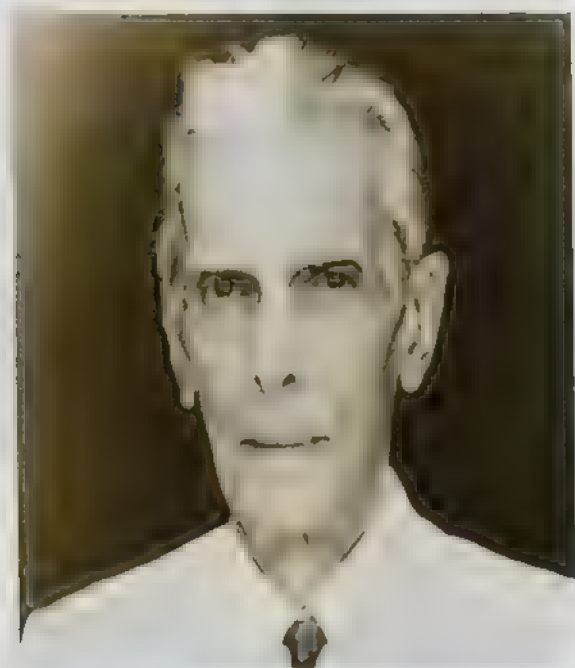


# Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: *A Historian's Perspective*

S.M. BURKE

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a luminary in three walks of life. He was one of India's leading legal practitioners; he was one of India's leading legislators; and he was one of India's leading politicians. But it is as a politician that he attained world stature and won a permanent place in history. He not only won independence for an existing country, but also performed the extraordinary feat of bringing an altogether new independent country into existence against seemingly impossible odds.

His triumph had the appearance of a one-man achievement because he was the only Muslim leader who could politically get the better of leaders of the calibre of Nehru, Gandhi, and Mountbatten who were all bitterly opposed to the creation of Pakistan. But even Jinnah's brilliant advocacy would have been dismissed as hot air if it did not have the passionate backing of the Muslim masses. His opponents realized that the denial of Pakistan would cause the explosive situation to blow up and make a constitutionally viable transfer of power impossible. Thus, in fact, it



as a British subject but he is a part of the Muslim masses who jointly won Pakistan.

Some commentators have suggested that the Quaid was too westernized to conceive Pakistan as an Islamic state. To support their argument they usually cite his address to the inaugural session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on 11 August 1947:

You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State... We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State... We would keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in due course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

However, when this statement is read with the Quaid's other pronouncements it becomes quite clear that he was recommending generous treatment to non-Muslims not as a commendable secular principle but as a mandatory Islamic injunction. Only three days later, during the Transfer of Power ceremony on 14 August, when Mountbatten praised the Emperor Akbar's policy of political and religious tolerance, the Quaid pointed out

The tolerance and goodwill that the Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet (ﷺ) not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs.

In fact, Jinnah had already emphasized in an Eid message on 13 November 1939 that 'no injunction is considered by our Holy Prophet (ﷺ) more imperative, or more divinely binding than the devout but supreme realization of our duty of love and toleration towards all human beings'. In another Eid message in September 1945 he had pointed out:

The Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code, it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from

morality to crime— from punishment here to that in the life to come, and our Prophet (ﷺ) has enjoined on us that every Mussulman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society—every department of life, collective and individual.



*The author is a scholar and former ambassador*

# *Jinnah: A Portrait*

SHARIF AL MUJAHID

**T**he portrait of Jinnah that emerges from Boltho's interviews is a rather a mixed one, with several interviewees contradicting each other. However, the bare bones of the Jinnah story, backed by solid evidence, are as follows:



Jinnah was born into a reasonably affluent family for the time, his father being engaged in profitable business. The story about his studying school texts under the light of a street lamp, current for a long while, is utter nonsense. Nanji Jafar, six years his junior, tells us that 'he went to school in a carriage while other boys walked'. Jinnah's father gave him a cricket set while he was in school, which Jinnah gifted away to Jafar on the eve of his departure for England in 1892. Not only did Jinnah shun playing marbles, then in vogue throughout the subcontinent, but he also urged other boys in the neighbourhood to 'stand-up out of the dust and play cricket'. So passionately was he possessed of this idea that he even taught other boys to play cricket, but without being a bully. His father had the foresight and the resources to send him to England to study law, recalls Dina

Wadia, Jinnah's only child. Actually, he was sent to study business management, but he developed a penchant for politics after listening to the great British Liberal stalwarts in the House of Commons during the initial months of his four-year stay (1892–96) in London, and got himself bathed in the Liberalism of Lord Morely which was in full sway. The Liberals had come to power under Gladstone in August 1892, and as Jinnah told Dr Ashraf, 'I grasped that Liberalism, which became part of my life and thrilled me very much'. That penchant, which stayed with him till the end, led him to opt for law, abandoning his initial business-training plans. This, *inter alia*, highlights his independence and decision-making power, even at this initial stage.

When Jinnah began his professional life in Bombay, he had three or four years of struggle without briefs, but would not give up on his predetermined ambition. By about 1900, he was, however, a success, and a member of the prestigious Orient Club in Bombay where Sir Cowasjee Jehangir met him in 1901. 'He was even more pompous and independent during those lean years', recalls Sir Cowasjee. A good many of his friends and acquaintances thought that Jinnah was 'no lawyer [but] a brilliant advocate', but Major Haji, secretary to the Aga Khan III, dismissed this assertion, arguing that:

he was the only Mohammedan lawyer of consequence in his time. There were one or two other Muslims practicing [law] but they were insignificant. It is not fair to say that Jinnah was merely a good advocate. This opinion is held by Hindus, who will not credit a Muslim with the facility to 'know' law, and how to interpret law. As an advocate, Jinnah outshone his fellows. His appeal to the judge and jury was dynamic, but he certainly also knew the law

Others have also testified that Jinnah outshone everyone else as an advocate, and they usually attribute this to his remarkable clear headedness

One of his prime ambitions was to become the highest paid lawyer in India, and this he achieved: his daily fee in 1936 was Rs 1,500, computed from the day he left Bombay to the day he returned. His stockbroker, Shantilal L. Thar, puts his fortune at Rs 6–7 million in 1947 (equivalent to Rs 120 million

today), a fabulous sum he had earned mostly through his practice, with his investments yielding but a fraction of it.

Jinnah was a political animal from the very beginning. He talked of nothing but politics, all the time, but 'with all the differences and bitterness of political life, he was never malicious. Hard may be, but never malicious', says Sir Cowasjee. Jinnah talked of politics even with his stockbroker, but there was no bitterness in his tone and tenor. Thar recalls that 'he propounded his faith in Pakistan, but without ever being bitter against the Hindus. By nature, he was not anti-Hindu....' This aspect of his politics is confirmed by Jamshed Nusserwanjee, former mayor of Karachi. Nor was there any 'ill-feeling' between Jinnah and Gandhi, or any dislike for each other. Thar also recalls Jinnah's estimate of the Indian princes in 1946: he extolled the late ruler of Baroda as being 'head and shoulders above all the other rulers', the late Maharaja of Mysore as a 'great gentleman' the late ruler of Gondal as 'all head and no heart' and the Nawab of Bhopal as having 'both head and heart'. It is rather interesting (and surprising) that the Nizami, the nawabs of Rampur and Bahawalpur, the major Muslim princes, or even the Khan of Kalat, with whom he had personal relations, do not figure in his list, and that when it comes to evaluation, Jinnah's choice cuts across the Hindu–Muslim divide. This is because, in raising the Pakistan banner, he was not launching a crusade against the Hindus as such, but proclaiming Hindus and Muslims as separate nations, so that they could acquire power in their respective demographically dominant regions. To claim substantial or absolute power for Muslims in their regions by no means entailed antagonism or enmity towards Hindus. Unfortunately, however, this was precisely what the Congress protagonists, propagandists and publicists harped upon, *ad nauseum*, damning and decrying Jinnah as the arch villain in the Indian political drama

*Inter alia*, this also highlights his overriding sense of impartiality, attested to by Major Haji, on the basis of his personal experience. His father took him to Jinnah, in Bombay, in 1920, and said. 'Make him as brilliant as you are', Jinnah replied, 'He can come and work in my chambers, but he must shine with his



own brilliance'. Jinnah never used his influence to gain him a favourable position. He 'was impartial, and did not give favours', recalls Haji.

Jinnah has often been accused of being vain, arrogant, and cold. He was hard, but not harsh. What some people considered arrogance was essentially his aggressive self-confidence, since he believed in himself all the way. Also, as a politician he kept his distance especially with his equals, lest he should be obliged to give in on some point or another. Yet incredibly perhaps, he talked freely with his stockbroker, his physician (Dr D.K. Mehta), and even with Sir Cowasjee. Actually, one had to come close to Jinnah, both to gain his confidence and to discover his virtues, as Sir Francis Mudie, former governor of Sindh and the Punjab—who 'probably knew Jinnah better than any other British Officer in India' and who was 'certainly the only British civilian who knew him at all well'—found out after August 1947. 'I always found him very pleasant socially... Officially until near the end... I found him open to reason or at least to argument. In the end I got to know that I could trust him completely', recalls Mudie.

Nor was Jinnah cold to all. He 'loved talking to people who were not Muslims', says Thar. Mazhar Ahmad, his naval ADC, adds a new dimension: as he 'grew old, he liked to have young men about [around] him. His secretaries and ADCs were all young. He came to enjoy the stimulus of young people and seldom refused to speak to them in audiences, no matter how busy he was.' Hashimi found that he 'relaxed with younger people who were not directly related to him and who had no political axes to grind'; he also loved them. That is precisely what a fourteen-year old Tahira Hayat Khan (later Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan), though not a Muslim Leaguer, discovered when she cycled her way to Mamdot Villa, where Jinnah was staying, in 1949 and asked the *chowkidar* to inform Jinnah that she was there. 'He was very nice to me and told me that he knew the stance of the Communist Party. I showed him a pamphlet I was carrying in which the Communist Party had declared its support for an independent country. He said we did not need to fear because he would be able to see our friends just as he was going to visit Bombay regularly...'

According to Mudie, Jinnah was not really cold, and he gives a capital instance of the great emotional strain under which he had been living under the cold exterior:

In judging Jinnah, we must remember what he was up against. He had against him, not only the wealth and brains of the Hindus, but also nearly the whole of British officialdom and most of the Home politicians, who made the great mistake of refusing to take Pakistan seriously. Never was his position really examined.... No man who had not the iron control of himself that Jinnah had could have done what he did. But it does not follow that he was really cold. In fact no one who did not feel as Jinnah did, could have done what he did

To this may be added Nusserwanjee's remark: 'He was emotional and affectionate, but he was unable to demonstrate it. All was control, control!' 'He kept his thoughts, his emotions, to himself', recalls Rabbani, his air ADC, but his gardener testified that he was always kind to servants.

Jinnah also cared for those who worked for him. When he was staying at Sir Cowasjee's country house, K.H. Khurshid (secretary to Jinnah, 1944–47) recalls

Jinnah [was] worried lest I was bored. He asked, 'Do you read Shakespeare?' I confessed, 'Not since school' He went into town and brought back a whole set of Shakespeare, Shelley and Keats, for me to read

He was also loyal and faithful to friends and colleagues who stood by him through thick and thin, despite what Habibullah says. Jinnah told Ahsan, his naval ADC, in Fatima Jinnah's presence at the Amir of Bahawalpur's palace, in Malir: 'Nobody had faith in me, everyone thought I was mad—except Miss Jinnah'. He then paused and added, 'But, of course, if she hadn't believed in me all along she would not be sitting here now'.

Mudie confirms, 'He was thoroughly loyal to those who had supported him in the past. That was the real reason why he did not dismiss Mandot, the Punjab Premier'. This was also the reason why he was so soft towards Liaquat Ali Khan on the Liaquat-Desai Pact (1945), which was contracted behind his back as he lay seriously ill at Matheran, while the Congress

mercilessly denied Bhulabhai Desai, the hero of the INA trials (1945–46), the Congress ticket for a Central Assembly seat in the 1945–46 general elections. Yet, as Nurse Dunham and Habibullah Ibrahim found out and Admiral Jefford discovered when he stood up to Jinnah and earned his respect, that Jinnah always liked people with views of their own—people of independent thought.

Jinnah was 'never a demonstrative person. He always controlled and held back any kind of emotion. He was reserved, dignified and lonely', recalls Nusserwanjee. He had high walls built around his person, within which he cloistered himself unassailably. Only twice did he let down his guard: the first time was at Ruttie's funeral rites in the Khoja Cemetery, at Mazagoan, Bombay, on 22 February 1929. He sat beside Kanji Dwarkadas 'for all the five hours' and 'put up a brave face after a tense silence', reports Dwarkadas. 'When Ruttie's body was being lowered down the grave, Jinnah was not able to control his emotions. He broke down and wept like a child'. The second time was when he visited the Hindu refugee camp in Karachi on 7 January 1948, after the unpremeditated Karachi riot, the only one to occur in Pakistan's capital.

Not only did he severely abstain from working on the emotions of the people, whatever the temptation, and whatever the provocation, as during the emotively charged Khilafat agitation (1920–22), or during the traumatic days following Bihar's ghastly anti-Muslim pogrom (1946); he also never succumbed to displaying any showmanship or penchant for public relations in his entire political career. Nevertheless, he worked for the poor all the time, as his strong advocacy of Gopal Krishna Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill (1911) in the Imperial Legislative Council indicates. What else had this advocacy stemmed from except his overriding concern to improve the lot of the poor, open for them the doors of opportunity, and give them access to new vistas of progress and self development? This had also inspired his unending striving for the Indianisation of the services and adoption of social welfare-oriented measures during his long parliamentary career (1910–47). Some thirty-five years after his Council speech, he showed the

same concern, this time in his address to Muslim League workers in Calcutta on 27 February 1946:

I am an old man. God has given me enough to live comfortably at this age. Why would I turn my blood into water, run about and take so much trouble? Not for the capitalists surely, but for you, the poor people... in Pakistan, we will do all in our power to see that everybody can get a decent living.

Despite all of this, however, in contrast with Gandhi he would never touch the poor, if only because he was the least demonstrative, if not for his rigid sense of cleanliness and fastidiousness. Indeed, his dislike of touching and being touched was phenomenal. 'He would devote his mind and even his life to helping the poor, but he did not wish to shake hands with them', says Mazhar Ahmad. To S.N. Baqar, Director General, Civil Defence, his attitude was: 'You must be saved. But I do not want you to come and thank me.' The emotion of gratitude was repulsive to him, in part because, to quote his physician, Jinnah was essentially 'a thinker, not a feeler'.

His fastidiousness and penchant for cleanliness were remarkable. Remember, while still a young boy, he told other boys in the neighbourhood, 'Don't play marbles. It dirties your clothes'. He always lived in style: he spent his huge earnings lavishly on a lifestyle described as upper class English. Once out of his lean years, he lived in big, spacious houses, well furnished, with his garden tidy and impressively landscaped, and with a retinue of servants. He was always fond of good clothes, good food, and good living. When in 1901, while still recovering from his lean professional years, he met Sir Cowasjee at Bombay's Orient Club, 'his clothes already had distinction'. Every one who had met him, throughout his life, has confirmed that he was always impeccably dressed. He was choosy in the choice of his clothes to a point that he was known as the best-dressed politician in India as revealed by his photograph when being received by Lord Wavell at the Viceroy's House in Simla on 25 June 1945, before the start of the first Simla Conference. He usually dressed in Saville Row suits, silk shirts, Parisian ties and two-tone shoes, while for the Muslim League annual sessions and other League gatherings, from 1937, he appeared dressed in tight *achkan*, *shervani*, black shoes and an expensive Karakuli

cap which immediately became not only known as Jinnah cap but also as a symbol of one's allegiance to the Muslim League and, later, Pakistan. From 1943 onwards he substituted his tight *achkan* for the Punjabi and north-western region's *shalwar*, if only to establish some sort of sartorial rapport with the larger of the two regions he claimed for Pakistan. In an age when *swadeshi* or hand-spun clothes were a passport to political success, Jinnah, except when at Muslim League moots and rallies, appeared in western dress, quite often with a solar hat (as at the Simla Conference in 1945). Of cufflinks alone, he reportedly had some sixty pairs. Indeed, Jinnah's refined taste was proverbial.

In food too, Jinnah was always choosy. During his Delhi-Karachi flight, Ahsan, his naval ADC, tells us, 'Jinnah complained bitterly—about the quality of the food, the inferior china and cutlery—and the thermos which had been provided [The picnic lunch had been prepared by the Viceroy's servants]’.

For most of his life Jinnah had lived in fabulous houses—the huge bungalows in Little Gibbs Road, in Hampstead Heath, on the outskirts of London, in Mount Pleasant Road in Malabar Hills, Bombay, and at 10, Aurangzeb Road in New Delhi. So imposing and well known was his Little Gibbs Road residence that the Parsi ladies whom Bolitho happened to accost in its vicinity on 18 May 1952, twelve years after it had been vacated by Jinnah and torn down to build new apartments, knew its exact location. Likewise, his Mount Pleasant Road residence was known as the 'Jinnah Residence', even to ordinary taxi drivers, long after Jinnah had left. He liked spacious, high-walled houses, and the garden had to be very tidy. He was even selective in his choice of flowers, and instinctively abhorred a huge garden overcrowded with many plants, lest it should look like a jungle. Indeed, 'Jinnah loved [and liked to savour] beautiful things and surrounded himself with them', says Majeed Malik. Perhaps this was the prime reason that he, whom even Dina Wadia calls a 'celibate', fell for Ruttie, the *crème de la crème* of the Bombay debutantes

Everything in his legal chambers—which were well furnished and grand—was spotless. Not only was his







house amongst the most tastefully decorated, but he was also one of the foremost connoisseurs of carpets in the country, with carpets and Mughal paintings being his weaknesses. Although a good many of his carpets were pilfered or cavalierly given away in the late 1960s and 1970s, when Shireen Bai, Jinnah's younger sister, occupied the Mohatta Palace, in Karachi, after Fatima Jinnah's death in 1967, some of the precious ones can still be seen at the Quaid-i-Azam Mausoleum Museum, Flagstaff House, and at Jinnah's birthplace on Newnham Road, Kharadar, Karachi. The impression, given by some of the interviewees, that he had no taste for architecture, furniture, etc., seems to be out of tune with the reality. The idea that Ruttie opened up a new world of taste for him may be valid up to a point, but given the sort of person Jinnah was, Ruttie's catalytic role alone could not, and would not, have worked unless Jinnah had an intrinsic tendency within himself for this world of taste. After all, given his extremely demanding professional life, his hectic public life and his core characteristic of singleness of purpose in respect of these two watertight compartments, Jinnah could not possibly have had the time and the requisite frame of mind to pursue all his tastes, or even go in for recreation. 'My profession is such that it never allows me time for recreation', he told Sir Evelyn Wrench in Bombay, in 1942.

Several of the interviewees including Noman, Bakar, and Claude Batley, the architect of his Mount Pleasant Road residence, spoke of Jinnah's parsimony and thriftiness. 'House keeping was strictly parsimonious... nobody was ever asked to dine at the last moment', one of Jinnah's acquaintances in Bombay told Boltho. This was confirmed by his secretary, Usman Ahmad Ansari, during 1939-40, in an interview with the present editor, in London, in 1985. 'Jinnah', said Ansari, 'would not ask anyone to join him if he barged in while he was dining—even if he be the Nawab of Bhopal', which did happen once or twice when Ansari was serving Jinnah. Jinnah's concern for details is usually seen as fussiness. He would routinely put down on paper all that he had earned and all that he had spent, and demand of others, even Fatima Jinnah, an account of the money they had spent. When Jinnah moved into Government House in

Karachi, he called for the inventory and checked it himself. He was the one to note that the croquet set and books from the library were missing—the one taken away by Governor Mudie's military secretary to Lahore, and the other by Governor of Sindh, Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, who had occupied the Government House for a short while before Jinnah moved in. But instead of being branded as fussiness, such meticulous attention to detail should be put down to his being methodical and to his business management sense, as compared with most Indians, especially Muslims, who have traditionally been given to ostentatious living and extravagance, even to the point of mortgaging their ancestral properties and pawning off or selling the family silver for a mere song. Thus attention to detail is usually cited as evidence of parsimony: He would never pay for any work that he considered substandard. When there was a leak in his Malabar Hills residence, 'he was furious. He haggled with the contractors and insisted on reductions', recalls Batley. Moreover, his penchant for detail gave him an enormous edge over both his political colleagues and opponents in discussions and negotiations.

And if he was so parsimonious, how does one account for his renting, purchasing or building such fabulous houses, in Bombay, Delhi and London? He bought South Court, in Bombay, from Sir Victor Sassoon, as early as 1912, for Rs 125,000, a stupendous sum at the time, and gave it to Ruttie when he married her on 19 April 1918. Also, his palatial residence in Mount Pleasant Road took a whole year to build! How does one explain the enormous amount of jewellery he gave to Ruttie in just eleven years of their married life? It is indeed mind boggling—listed in over seven handwritten pages, now a part of the Quaid-i-Azam Papers in Islamabad. How does one rationalize his giving away some half a million pounds sterling for charitable purposes in his will executed on 30 May 1939 in Bombay? This allocates only paltry sums to his relatives, apart from Fatima Jinnah and Dina Wadia, while bequeathing enormous sums to the University of Bombay, the Anjuman-i-Islam School, Bombay, and the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, with all his residuary estate, including the corpus that may fall after the lapse of life interests or otherwise, to be divided

equally between the Aligarh Muslim University, the Islamia College, Peshawar, and the Sindh Madrasahul Islam, Karachi. Again, how does one account for Jinnah himself paying all the expenses connected with his political work throughout his life, or his footing, in part, the hefty Cecil Hotel bill for the Muslim League Working Committee members' stay during the Simla Conference in June–July 1945? Thar, who dealt with Jinnah's investments for some eleven years, and who should know better than most about Jinnah's money matters, says, 'Once he had made the investments he would not bother to ask the price thereafter... If any of my suggestions did not yield a good result, he never referred to it, even casually'. Hence his conclusion: 'Although he was thrifty, he never pursued money in a cheap way'. In support of his contention, Thar cites an instance of Jinnah refusing to take a fee from a client when he succeeded on an appeal, because he had originally offered to pursue the case further for free. Bakar also talks of Jinnah returning extra money in a case he had conducted, with a note, 'This is the amount you paid me. This was my fee. Here is the balance'. Others have also cited such instances which underscore, not only Jinnah's honesty and integrity, but also his aversion to the accumulation of wealth per se.

Because of his iron control Jinnah is usually regarded as being bereft of all emotions. 'He was by nature celibate', says Khurshid. This is confirmed by his daughter. Hence Jinnah's romance with, and marriage to, Ruttie, the beautiful daughter of the multimillionaire Sir Dinshaw Petit, when she was still in her teens, caused everyone to speculate. It has seldom been mentioned that it was Ruttie who had chased him

It so happened that in a case concerning the Tata Iron and Steel Works, Jinnah appeared before the Privy Council in London, in late 1913, and was able to secure a favourable verdict. His client, Jamshed Tata, the young, dashing scion of the Tata family, was engaged to Sir Dinshaw Petit's eldest daughter, Homie. Both she and her younger sister, Ruttie, were then studying for their baccalaureate in Nice, southern France. Jamshed Tata asked Jinnah if he would look up his fiancée, in Antibes before taking the ship from Marseille to Bombay. Sir Dinshaw asked Ruttie to receive their guest at Nice railway station, late in

October 1913: this was probably their first meeting. Ruttie was then 13, and Jinnah 36 years old. Another story, related by a family friend, Haji Mohammad Dossa, would have us believe that Jinnah was entrusted with the task of teaching English to Ruttie, and that they read John Galsworthy's *Forsythe Saga* together.

At any rate, in the summer of 1916, Jinnah was a houseguest of Sir Dinshaw, the Parsi baronet and business magnate of Bombay, at the summer resort of Darjeeling, nestled in the Himalayas. Ruttie, then 16, was on hand to provide company to the much sought after barrister and the rising politician. Ruttie was entranced by Jinnah's singular success in crafting the Congress–League Lucknow Pact of December 1916. She was at Lucknow, along with her mother, when Sarojini Naidu, popularly known as the 'nightingale of India', dedicated her poem on India to Jinnah. Jinnah was then edging towards 40, but was straight, bnsk, tall, urbane, polished and handsome, immaculately clad, courtesy personified, courtly mannered, and impressive—as ever. If Lady Wavell found Jinnah 'one of the handsomest men I have ever seen; he combined the clear cut, almost Grecian features of the West, with Oriental grace and movement' in the middle 1940s, when he was in his late 60s, how would Ruttie have found him some three decades earlier? He excited her young imagination as no one else had, and she hero-worshipped him. As noted earlier, the emotion of gratitude was repulsive to him. Not inexplicably, therefore, it was she who asked him to marry her. Reportedly Jinnah answered, 'It seems to be an interesting proposition!' says Noman. Not only Ruttie's family but the entire Parsi community of Bombay was up in arms. Determined to abort the union, Petit moved the courts and got an injunction, restraining Jinnah from seeing Ruttie. Jinnah, committed to upholding the law and the courts' honour throughout his life, abided by the courts' ruling, despite his unswerving attachment. On her part, Ruttie cared little and bided her time. Two months after she turned 18, when she found her parents still adamantly against the match, 'she took her umbrella and went straight to Jinnah's house'. They were married a day later, according to Muslim rites. The fruit of their happy wedlock was the birth of a daughter, in London, some sixteen months later.

Despite the Petits' boycott of the Jinnah-Ruttie union and their estrangement, Jinnah joyously went along with the suggestion that the child be named Dina after Ruttie's mother

'He loved my mother', insists Dina Wadia. 'He never loved anyone else.... My father loved nobody but my mother', she emphasizes, time and again. 'I loved my wife and she loved me, but we could not get along together', Jinnah told Majeed Malik. 'Jinnah needed understanding and patience', but 'his wife had neither. She was gay and impressionable and liked to shock him', says Begum Shah Nawaz. Uncharacteristically, Jinnah patiently and gallantly put up in silence with her capricious and Bohemian pranks and postures for a long while if only to keep their marriage together. But it was bound to fail given their respective temperaments. His break with Ruttie, reportedly caused by Sarojini Naidu, who was in love with 'this beautiful boy', as she described him once, and Kanji Dawarkadas, who was interested in Ruttie himself, and, later, her death, caused Jinnah immense grief and left a permanent void. Jinnah did not meet anyone for a fortnight and smoked hundreds of cigars and wore a black band on his arm, says Hashmi. His marriage, says Khurshid, 'opened, for the first time, and closed thereafter for ever, the door of his emotions. Never again did he trust all his heart to a human being. From then on, even his warmth was calculated'.

Thus, the death of his wife, compounded by the loss in marriage of his only daughter to a non-Muslim, Neville Wadia, meant for Jinnah the end of family life. According to Peer Tajuddin, 'When domestic happiness was lost and family felicity disappeared, it left a scar on Jinnah's mind and the sadness was reflected in his character. But Jinnah was not inclined to be soft, and to admit defeat in love and domestic affairs was not in his nature'. But, contrary to the general impression, throughout the rest of his life he continued to yearn for family life and domestic happiness: he told Begum Shah Nawaz in 1946, 'I have my grandchildren to play with', and barely a few months before he died, he asked Dina Wadia to bring her children and stay with him for a while. He was very fond of his grandson, Nusli, who took a fancy to his cap, during their last meeting in Bombay in

mid-1946, following the long drawn-out critical negotiations with the Cabinet Mission.

The Aga Khan, himself an aristocrat, considered Jinnah 'instinctively and essentially an aristocrat'. A good many of Bolitho's respondents considered him arrogant, proud and aloof, but not really rude. When he was really rude, it seems, he meant to send out a message, at once loud and clear, that he would never be cowed. An unnamed private secretary to the viceroy told Professor Khalid B. Sayeed, 'Jinnah was deliberately rude to gain a point or gain a better consideration of his views from the Viceroy'. This means not inherent rudeness, but *intentional* rudeness and *deliberate* bad manners employed to gain a political point here and an edge there. H.V. Hodson, former reforms commissioner, cites a series of incidents and events from Jinnah's last years to drive home this vital Jinnah characteristic. He was much too selective in putting on a pleasant demeanour or a rude posture, depending upon the circumstances, and *not* necessarily the person, by whom he was confronted. Otherwise, given his political feud with Nehru, running and snowballing for almost a decade, how could he permit himself to be photographed with him in such a jovial mood, at the London airport on 2 December 1946, before the abortive London Conference?

If he was rude at all it was only to his 'equals'. In contrast: 'He was always so gracious to ladies', recalls his mother-in-law, Lady Petit, adding, 'He would compliment us on our saris. The other politicians were grand and swept one aside'. This unsuspected aspect of his personality was confirmed by one of the Parsi ladies Bolitho accosted on Little Gibbs Road who said, 'I knew him quite well. I used to see him—almost everyday. So erect and so charming. He always took off his hat and said, "Good Morning".' Is it not rather strange that a person described by all and sundry as being utterly devoid of emotion, should be so courteous to ladies? Does it, by any chance, betray a deep yearning for female company in the deepest recesses of his heart, a yearning which his inherent pride and aversion to favours, compounded by his penchant for an 'iron control of himself', precluded from finding a crystalline expression throughout his life—except when he, per chance, stayed under the

same roof with Ruttie for a week or two in Darjeeling's idyllic surroundings?

All whom Bolitho spoke to have spoken of Jinnah's honesty, integrity and incorruptibility, while Sir Cowasjee especially emphasised his sense of justice and lack of bitterness and malice, despite all the political differences between them. He 'would not accept [any] office', says Feroz Khan Noon, while Tajuddin asserts that, he 'couldn't be purchased by anybody'. 'His great hold on the Muslims of India', says Mudie, 'was due to his reputation for absolute strength and integrity and any compromise might have been interpreted as a sign of weakness. It might even have been suggested that he had been bought'.

Almost everyone Bolitho interviewed and almost every commentator on Pakistan since 1947, has alluded to Jinnah's 'singleness of purpose', and 'single mindedness', but none has attempted to explain why this characteristic should stand out so conspicuously in his public life and overshadow all of his other traits. Is it because Jinnah himself more than anyone else was painfully aware of his limited resources? 'outside the twin spheres of law and politics he has few resources and few accomplishments', wrote Sarojini Naidu in 1917, thirty years before Jinnah became the architect of Pakistan. 'He was what God made him, not what he made himself', but 'he could see around corners, with a sixth sense', says Sir Cowasjee. This comment does not precisely conform to the hard facts of his life, for an in-depth study of Jinnah indicates his instinctive and inherent aversion to becoming involved in, and frittering away his energies on, too many things; to spreading himself thinly. To quote Naidu, again, the '... true criterion of his greatness lies [among other things] not in a diversity of aims... but rather in a lofty singleness and sincerity of purpose'. That, also, in part explains his impassioned concentration on one issue at a time. First, it was to shine as a barrister and ensure a comfortable lifestyle for himself. He refused to dart out into public life, despite urging from his colleagues, till he had made his pile. After this, he joined the Congress, and made his place secure in the echelons of nationalist leadership. By 1913, when he had led a deputation of 'Congress wallas' to Lord Crewe, Secretary of State, on the reform of the India Council,

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From 1937 onwards, he concentrated solely and untiringly on organising the disparate Muslim community, fragmented both horizontally and vertically, under the Muslim League's banner—to confront the entrenched Congress both at the polling booth and in the streets. In 1940, he launched the demand for Pakistan, goaded and galvanised Muslims in its support, and wrested Pakistan from unwilling hands within seven years. This he did through a three-tiered complex of skilful negotiations, tactical moves, and mobilizing Muslims for revolt and sacrifices, whatever the odds and whatever the circumstances. Finally, during 1947–48, he worked himself to death to secure Pakistan's sheer survival in the most treacherous circumstances which no other nation in the modern world was born into has confronted. In the words of historian, Percival Spear:

...Jinnah stands alone among the nation-builders of Pakistan in a way that no Indian, not even Mahatma Gandhi, stands among Indian patriots. Of him it can be said with some truth, that 'alone he did it'.

Of course, as Sir Cowasjee says, Jinnah was, in the first place, 'what God made him', as we all are but he was *also* what he had made of himself. If as Karl Marx says, 'men make their own history', the activities of individuals, such as Jinnah, cannot help being important in history. Nor can such individuals be dismissed as 'of no account'. It was not merely the Muslim crisis in 1937, the nadir in Muslim India's chequered history since 1858, that really made Jinnah what he came to be during the epochal 1937–47



decade, but something more that was equally important. For, in terms of a visionary approach, personal talent, political and intellectual leadership, organisational skills, resolute action, and concrete achievements, Jinnah had given at least as much to the formulation, conceptualization and realization of the concept of Pakistan as he had received influences, legacies and 'support' from the historic realm—in terms of traditional values, political forces, ideological orientation, institutional entities, communication networks, and mass response. Indeed, in a substantial and significant sense, his individual genius served as the creative force in Indo-Muslim history at this critical juncture.

Such is the general composite portrait of Jinnah that emerges out of Bolitho's interviews and the reviews of his work, supplemented by hard evidence from elsewhere. It is not the usual stereotyped cardboard portrait that has been fed to Pakistanis over the years; after the sketching in of this composite portrait, the earlier one is bound to be consigned to oblivion. Jinnah's repertoire of strengths and weakness delineated in the present study will help researchers and scholars. Not only to analyse Jinnah as a person but also to explain some crucial but enigmatic segments of his politics and postures. It is rather interesting that the Indian and British respondents are far more fair and nearer to the truth about him than their Pakistani counterparts. Is it perhaps because, having unduly adulated Jinnah to the high skies in public, they had a chance, indeed the chance of a life time, to go to the other extreme in private—not only to focus specifically on his weaknesses, but also to make a mountain of them? It would indeed be rewarding to juxtapose the Pakistani version with those of the others, including those offered in the reviews of Bolitho's work published at the time. Hopefully, such an exercise would yield a more accurately balanced estimate of Jinnah as a person, as a lawyer and advocate, as a politician and as the architect of Pakistan.

Jinnah is, of course, the founding father, and the most revered icon in Pakistan's national pantheon. But he was *still* a human being—a human being with both strengths and weaknesses. His enormous strengths overshadow and overwhelm his weaknesses, but

Jinnah himself frowned upon his deification: 'I am an ordinary man, full of sin', he told Ispahani. And deification is no substitute for the upholding of the principles which he so fervently cherished. What Jinnah himself would have considered his greatest tribute was for Pakistanis to translate his ideals into social action, rather than merely recall his efforts and pay lip service to his incredible achievements, ritually and routinely. He wished for Pakistan to be modern, progressive, forward-looking, social welfare-oriented, egalitarian, democratic and Islamic.

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*An extract from the Introduction to In Quest of Jinnah*

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# *Quaid-i-Azam's Personality and its Role and Relevance in the Achievement of Pakistan*

SIKANDAR HAYAT



**Q**uaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) joined organized politics in 1906, formulated the Congress-Muslim League Scheme of Reforms, also known as the Lucknow Pact, in 1916, and earned the recognition and respect of Indian 'nationalist' leadership, including Sarojini Naidu who called him an 'ambassador... of the Hindu-Muslim Unity'. But soon, the turn of events, with M.K. Gandhi's entry into politics, promoting 'non-cooperation' methods, and the launching of the Khilafat-Non-cooperation Movement in 1920 changed things. Jinnah lost the initiative, but not for long. The collapse of the Non-cooperation Movement, Hindu-Muslim communalism, and the working of the constitutional reforms of 1919 brought Jinnah back at the centre stage, but more at the centre of Muslim politics. This was also reflected in his now famous 'Fourteen Points' of 1929, suggesting the need to reconcile Muslim interests with all-India 'nationalist' interests. But with the rise of Hindu Mahasabha and the increasing communal outlook of the Congress under the influence of Gandhi, Jinnah's efforts at Hindu-Muslim unity and





*Meeting of the 'Four' held on 28 June 1947. Seated (clockwise from Lord Mountbatten): Liaquat Ali Khan, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Baldev Singh, Vallabhbhai Patel, Acharya Kripalani and Jawaharlal Nehru*

the attainment of self-government for India did not materialize. The Round Table Conference (RTC) in London in 1930-32 complicated the matters further (The British did not invite Jinnah to the third RTC). Disillusioned with the attitude of both Hindu and Muslim leaders, Jinnah went into self-imposed 'exile' and took up residence in Hampstead, London. As he explained: 'I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu mentality, nor could I make the *Musalmans* realize their precarious position... I felt utterly helpless'

But, Jinnah still remained involved with the developments in India and the plight of Indian Muslims in the ensuing struggle for political power as India began to advance under the new constitutional reforms launched by the British government. In 1935, responding to the 'Muslim SOS' from the Muslim League, and convinced that the Muslims were 'in the

greatest danger', Jinnah did not hesitate to return to India (in 1934, he was elected president of the united Muslim League) to lead the Muslims out of their predicament. He toured the country, re-organized the League, and led it into the 1937 elections, but, then, for a host of reasons, failed to carry majority of the Muslim opinion. The League secured 109 out of 482 seats reserved for the Muslims. But this did not mean that the Congress had won the Muslim vote. Except for the NWFP, where it secured the majority of seats, with the help of the *Khudai Khidmatgars* of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Congress failed to return any Muslim candidate in the Muslim-majority provinces, including Bengal, Punjab and Sindh. Jinnah felt that, since the Congress had won predominantly in the Hindu constituencies and the League had done reasonably well with the Muslims, the two organizations could join hands to settle the perennial Hindu-Muslim problem. He appealed to Gandhi in particular

to 'take up the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement earnestly'. But Gandhi was not moved. He had already made up his mind to pursue 'pure and unadulterated Nationalism', with no room for special interests and demands of the Muslims as he saw them.

Thus, Jinnah had no option but to seek a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem on his own, and on his own terms to ensure a safe and secure destiny for the Muslims of India. Already, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, in his letters of 1936-37, had suggested to him that 'a free Muslim state or states' was 'the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India'. Jinnah reformulated and reinforced the idea, and, in March 1940, boldly asserted that the Muslims and Hindus, 'notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact', could not be 'expected to

transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statute'. Indeed, Jinnah claimed that the Muslims 'are a nation by any definition', and thus are entitled to their own 'homelands, their territory and their state'. The Lahore Resolution, moved by the Muslim League on 23 March 1940, and soon named 'Pakistan Resolution', adopted Jinnah's 'formula', and sealed the fate of one, united India. Jinnah led the movement for Pakistan, and, in August 1947, Pakistan was achieved as a separate state constituting the Muslim-majority areas of India.

Many scholars have wondered as to how Jinnah succeeded in his mission of achieving Pakistan, in



*Members of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League 1940*

spite of the opposition of the British, the Congress, and the so-called 'nationalist' Muslims, and that too in a short span of seven years. In my opinion, his success was due to the confluence and combination of his extraordinary 'personality' and the worsening 'situation' of Muslim India. This situation was the result of a host of difficulties including the communal tangle, the constitutional problem, the destabilizing impact of the Second World War (a major catalyst for decolonization in the twentieth century), the devolution of British authority, and the imminent threat of Hindu-majority rule in India. The Muslims were completely lost. They were 'Charterless on the sea of India's most crucial years....' While the situational factors have been a subject of discussion in many accounts on Jinnah and Pakistan and thus need not be dwelt upon here, there is a need to understand the personality-related factors. They have not been identified or discussed much. An understanding of these factors is absolutely necessary to put the achievement of Pakistan in a meaningful, systematic framework. Some of the more important factors are highlighted

First, Jinnah had incredible faith in himself and the 'cause' he made his own. As he told one of his contemporaries: 'You try to find what will please people and then you act accordingly. My way of action is quite different. I first decide what is right and I do it. The people come around me and the opposition vanishes'. Thus, Jinnah 'never courted popularity' and therefore could not be 'influenced or trapped into any position that he had not himself decided upon'. Having decided on Pakistan, nothing deterred him from his mission. He was willing to fight against all odds. Indeed, as one prominent historian put it, Jinnah had 'extraordinary capacity to fight when all would have appeared lost to lesser men'.

Secondly, Jinnah not only responded to Muslim aspirations but was also the only Muslim leader of his time who 'knew how to express the stirrings of their minds in the form of concrete propositions'. Not surprisingly, many analysts held that: 'It was Mr Jinnah and nobody else who invented Pakistan'. The nationalist Muslims, too, demanded 'protection from Hindu domination', but they were not able to offer a



*With Jawaharlal Nehru at Simla*

concrete 'formula' to salvage the situation. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad could only offer 'full autonomy to the provincial units and vesting all residuary powers in the provinces'. But then, the Muslims, given the harsh and painful experience of Congress rule in the provinces in 1937-39, had moved way beyond the federal solutions. Thus, Jinnah's formula of Pakistan emerged as the only viable alternative to Hindu domination and Muslim subjugation in India

Thirdly, Jinnah was a superb constitutionalist and thus was ideally suited for the constitutional struggle in India after the adoption of Act of 1935. In this struggle, he was of course helped by his immense knowledge of law and constitutional reforms. He had been part of all constitutional deliberations, except in 1928 (Motilal Nehru Committee) and 1932 (third



RTC), and both the Nehru Report and the 1935 Act failed to carry the people of India. Jinnah remained member of successive legislatures in India, from 1910 to 1947, for more than three decades. This long and sustained experience not only made him a parliamentarian of outstanding ability but also helped him in the conduct of constitutional negotiations with the British and the Congress, leading to the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. These negotiations were essentially 'elite negotiations' and had much to do with Jinnah's 'negotiating skills in particular.

Fourthly, Jinnah was a keen organizer in both private and public life. Nothing was to be taken for granted or left to chance. In politics, he was convinced that 'One has to play one's game as on the chessboard'. One measure of this emphasis on organization in politics was the fact that he never operated outside 'party' routine and discipline. His entire political life revolved around party activity, whether as a member of the Congress, Muslim League, or, briefly, the Home Rule League. It was only because of his faith in organization that he himself 'emerged as a legendary organization-man keeping communications open between Muslim minority and majority provinces, between feudal lords, commercial interests and urban middle classes, and between constitutional debates and ideological standpoints'. His organizational skills also helped transform the Muslim League into 'a new kind of party with one foot in the countryside and the other in the town' for promoting and pursuing the cause of Pakistan.

Fifthly, Jinnah was a 'brilliant political strategist' and knew well 'when to take the tide' and when to make suitable mends in the furnace of reality and expediency'. His acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946, out of tactical considerations, was a master stroke. Apart from the fact that he was satisfied that 'the foundation and the basis of Pakistan' were given in the plan, he sensed correctly that some of the proposals, such as the 'grouping' clause which formed the 'crux' of the long-term plan, were not, and could not be acceptable to the Congress under any circumstances. The Congress would oppose them. Sure enough, Gandhi and Nehru did not disappoint him. In his press conference of 10 July 1946, Nehru

charged that 'there will be no grouping' of the provinces. Jinnah rejected the plan, forcing the British government to decide eventually between his Pakistan, and communal riots and administrative collapse and the resultant 'uncertainty' in India. British Prime Minister Attlee's statement of 3 June 1947, announcing the Partition Plan, conceded that the partition of India (and the birth of Pakistan) was 'the inevitable alternative' to the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Finally, Jinnah was a man of integrity and character. He was recognized by his contemporaries as 'a man of high integrity, principles, sincerity, honesty, incorruptibility, and honour'. His opponents, including those Muslims who opposed his Pakistan demand, vouched that he had no personal axe to grind. As Dr Syed Hussain, a nationalist Muslim publicly swore:

Though I am opposed to Pakistan, I must say that Mr Jinnah is the only man in the public life whose public record is most incorruptible... He has not gained anything from the British. He is not that kind of man... He had not accepted from the British benefit or title although Mr Gandhi did accept from Britain after the Boer war. The Muslim masses know that Mr Jinnah is the only man who is not in need of money and who has no lust for power

Jinnah, of course, possessed all the aforementioned qualities of leadership even before he formulated the Pakistan demand in 1940. But these qualities assumed a new role and relevance in the changed circumstances, as the Muslim situation suffered, with India and its Hindu-majority community advancing towards self-government and freedom. The confluence of personal qualities and the distressful situation transformed Jinnah into the charismatic leader of the Muslims, the Quaid-i-Azam of Muslim India and Pakistan.

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*The author is Acting Dean, National Institute of Public Policy and Directing Staff, Research and Methodology, National Management College, Lahore*

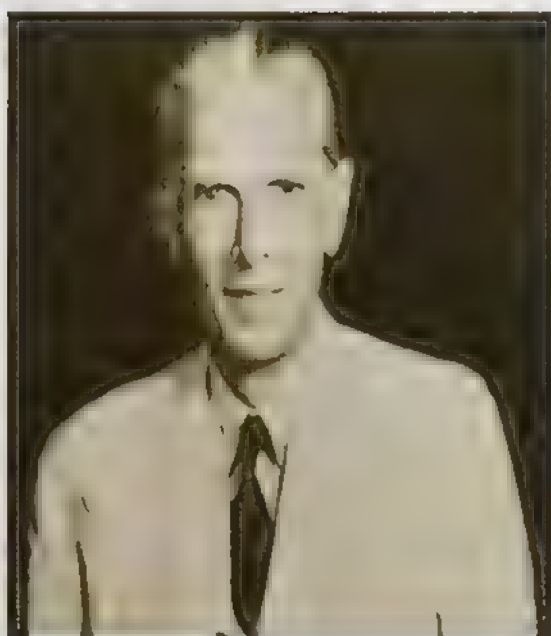
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# M.A. Jinnah: The Official Biography

M.R. KAZIMI

**H**ector Bolitho's *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* was the official biography of the founder of Pakistan. It proved popular, and from the year of its publication in 1954, it was printed many a times. For a full thirty years it was the only internationally acknowledged work on Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as well as the book Pakistanis most avidly read to learn of the life and work of their great leader. It was thus eminently suitable as an official biography; but at the same time, it was subject to the travails an authorized biography usually undergoes



The author has to endure official interference, he is hampered from airing his views fully, and he produces a draft which he does not wish to acknowledge entirely as his own. Hector Bolitho (1897-1974) suffered not only all this, but at the other end, he had to contend with the indifference of exactly those persons whose enthusiasm for his work he had taken for granted; the closest relatives of the Quaid-i-Azam



Jinnah with Muslim League workers in Bombay

The result was that beneath the flowing style, an uneven spread of knowledge could be discerned. Peter Hardy remarked that the book was unlikely to survive the throwing open of the *Jinnah Papers*. But survived it has mainly because Bolitho had a second string to his bow; he preserved all the material that he was unable to put in his official biography and it is this material of about the same length as the authorized version which appears in a companion volume called: *In Quest of Jinnah*

It is due to this residual volume that we gain a stereoscopic vision of *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. What awaits the reader in the companion volume comprises the following sections: 1) Hector Bolitho's diary and notes which he maintained mainly as a scrapbook to accompany the text. 2) His correspondence with Majeed Malik, principal information officer, with whom he had to liaise. 3) Hector Bolitho's

correspondence with dignitaries who had known Jinnah personally 4) Contemporary western reviews of *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. And finally 5) the tour de force which are those passages which appear neither in the official biography, nor in his diary and notes

It needs to be explained why the first draft could not, even now be published in its entirety. Draft A or *The Jinnah Legend* as Bolitho had tentatively titled his book, is not a manuscript from which passages had been neatly detached, and which could as neatly be put back to produce a complete version as was the case with Abul Kalam Azad's *India Wins Freedom*. The major part of the revision consists of what normally happens to a first draft. It is polished, condensed and paraphrased to make the text more lucid and expressive

Apart from stylistic considerations, paraphrasing became necessary, since large chunks were taken out and there had to be a link between two retained passages. Then there are portions in the earlier draft where Bolitho unmistakably rambles, as about the Shalamar Gardens or the street names of Lahore. Every seasoned writer can sense that Bolitho felt short of material and was feeling his way around. Another reason why revision became necessary was that the rapport Bolitho struck with some informants distorted his sense of proportion. Bolitho blames Jinnah for not trying to seek out Nanji Jafar, a boyhood friend from within the tumultuous crowd gathered to receive him as Governor-General. As another instance we see how Bolitho kept insisting that the scene of Jinnah offering Major Birnie some outsize hats be included in the text. Bolitho was convinced that such scenes added a 'human touch'. Majeed Malik was convinced that they did not.

Hector Bolitho and Majeed Malik, to begin with, did not share opinions. Bolitho had a high opinion of Lord Mountbatten and as low an opinion of Pakistanis: 'In my hearts of hearts, I dislike them'. To be sure, Bolitho sometimes tried to get over his dislikes; for example, for Miss Fatima Jinnah: 'My opinion of her is unfair, because I began to dislike her for refusing to help over this book'. But such introspection was rare. He recorded without comment Mrs Dina Wadia's estimate of both Mr and Mrs Liaquat Ali Khan though it scarcely accorded with his own. Bolitho's interview with Mrs Wadia was quite revealing as she then uninhibitedly gave recollections of her mother's death. These were the impressions of a daughter, who had rebelled against her father, in a courtroom-like denouement, by citing his own marriage as precedent.

The Hector Bolitho-Majeed Malik correspondence brings out their dissonance more directly than the diary. There were two deep seated impressions about Jinnah in Bolitho's mind that Malik sought to dispel; firstly that Jinnah was miserly, second that he lacked a liberal education. As an example of the first, Bolitho recounts that Jinnah's Bombay friends were amazed when he invited four hundred guests to a dinner for the Raja of Mahmudabad. He pictures their expression of surprise on receiving the invitation

and shows the resolve of a guest to attend because of the large number of invitees. Bolitho does not pause to ask how an invitee would know the number of guests invited. Then Bolitho failed to appreciate was the importance of the Raja of Mahmudabad to the Pakistan Movement. Jinnah invited guests according to the political importance of the chief guest, as when, just before he joined the Muslim League, he hosted a dinner for Sir Ali Imam and Fazal Currimbhoy. Other dinners would naturally be quieter.

Majeed Malik has reason to cavil at such references, or at Bolitho's constant refrain that Jinnah's intellectual interests were narrow. The allusions to which Majeed Malik was most sensitive were Jinnah's Ismaili origins, and to the role of Liaquat Ali Khan as his lieutenant. In spite of this, Majeed Malik deleted the account of Jinnah telling the Aga Khan that his life style did not behoove that of a religious leader. Majeed Malik did not have any apparent animus against Liaquat Ali Khan, yet he cut out many references to him. The most vivid reference was during the State Bank inauguration, when Liaquat momentarily afraid, that Jinnah was about to collapse, rose to support him. Majeed Malik cut out this scene and other references without being aware, how much on this score Bolitho already knew. Bolitho had seen Liaquat's letter of resignation dated 27 December 1947 and probably wanted to recount Liaquat's gesture to show that the prime minister's proffered resignation had caused no permanent breach.

Hector Bolitho's correspondence with Jinnah's friends and contemporaries consisted mainly of letters written when the book was complete. Only Sir Francis Mudie wrote Bolitho a long letter of four pages, containing his recollections and impressions of Jinnah. This he could have used as a source although it differs in detail and tone from Mudie's private papers cited both by Richard Symonds and Stanley Wolpert. Another source were the letters of Lady Wavell, in which she drew upon the diaries of her husband to inform him that Lord Wavell did not like Jinnah, although he sympathized with the Muslims and admired Liaquat Ali Khan. This was confirmed to the letter when *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal* was published in 1973. Bolitho met with two hundred people who knew Jinnah before he completed his



*All-India Muslim League Session, Lahore, March 1940*

manuscript, yet he was acutely conscious that Jinnah was eluding him. It is a pity that in spite of gaining access to Lady Wavell, he did not think of contacting Sir George Abell or Sir Ian Scott

After having plunged the depths, we must resurface finally to view *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* as it originally appeared, and as it appears still in reprint. The reviews of the published version alone can answer whether Bolitho was successful in his assigned task of making Jinnah attractive to the West and also making Jinnah appeal to a readership which considered partition a tragedy. There were private reviews and public reviews. The private reviews were in the form of letters written by those who had known Jinnah personally and were associated with Bolitho in his task. Aware of the difficulties Bolitho faced, they commended him on portraying Jinnah as they had

known; in spite of the censorship he endured and the cooperation he was denied

The second and usual body of reviews was mainly impersonal, judging only the printed word. Since the publication of the companion volume is about to alter the impression the book first created, these contemporary reviews are valuable for freezing that impression, not unlike a photograph which captures the image of a building before it undergoes renovation, or has a wing added to it. We need to recall that a number of books on Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru had already appeared and it was this anglicized barrister who struck the British as odd. We can do no better than to begin with an anonymous review from *The Times Literary Supplement*.

Mr Bolitho has built up from many sources a convincing picture of this strange but very great man



This reviewer not only shifted away the blame for partition from Jinnah, but pointed most pertinently to the irony that Jinnah, the politician most disliked by the British, should have been described as a British tool. This comment, apart from its accuracy shows how completely independence had upset values. Previously, loyalty would have been applauded. This reviewer goes on to add that Bolitho's story of Jinnah's struggle is 'curiously touching'. This phrase does not seem to address Jinnah's change of political creed, but a tension that existed between the man and his mission.

The next review to engage our attention is by Sir Percival Spear, basically a historian of medieval India, but who, by this time had come to specialize in the British period. Spear appears to be aware of the stress Bolitho had gone through; not being given access to knowledge on the one hand, and being hampered from publishing what he had learnt, on the other. His evaluation of Bolitho's work betrays inside knowledge:

For behind an omission noted here, or a misunderstanding there, there arises the profile of a man, clear-cut, finely proportioned and dominating. If Mr Bolitho has not written a full life, he has certainly sketched a vivid portrait.

The uncommon feature of Spear's review is his comparison of Mohammad Ali Jinnah to the Irish leader Charles Stuart Parnell which brings out similarities both in political fortunes and personality traits. This comparison may have contributed to a better understanding of Jinnah in Great Britain.

The next reviewer, Ian Stephens, was if anything, more intimate with Indian politics, and more appreciative of Jinnah's stand than Spear. He took issue privately with Bolitho over his account of Jinnah's illness. As a leading journalist, he knew the details of Jinnah's life quite well, as well as how Bolitho was kept from learning them:

The preface does not mention these, there is a gentlemanly omission only.... It is an enthralling story and Mr Bolitho tells it with practical skill.

Others, for example, the reviewer of the *Nottingham Journal* would concur that Bolitho wrote his biography well. The reviewer of *The Times* was able to define

the traits of Jinnah in a true and telling perspective, outlining very distinctly his individual role

The entire armory of political leaders... was abhorrent to his mind. That, no doubt is why Englishmen and Hindus alike talked of him as impossible to deal with.... This is an excellent book which brings to life a very great man.

Hector Bolitho's rendering of Jinnah's life receives accolades even from a reviewer who holds an opinion contrary to the opinion of *The Times* reviewer. Referring to Jinnah's coldness and hauteur, AL Potex writes:

It is the great strength of this book that such a man is brought to life in its pages.... The Mahatma, however exasperating was undoubtedly saintly, and the Quaid-i-Azam with all his great qualities and all his integrity was a politician still

Louis Fischer, the biographer of Mahatma Gandhi, as expected, enlarges on the estimate of AL Potex by striking a new vein: 'Mr Bolitho etches a cold, repelling, fascinating tragic figure'. Louis Fischer was of the view that Jinnah achieved Pakistan, only because he wore his opponents down. Fischer does not explain how Jinnah, who was diseased and dying, could wear down Lord Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru who long survived him. Fischer places Jinnah's pride alongside Cleopatra's nose, thus claiming that a leader's spite and not a people's will shaped history.

Of all the reviews of *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, the most insightful and comprehensive review was written by T.W. Hutton. According to this unfortunately obscure writer, Bolitho's book was not a definitive biography but a completely satisfying interim report. Hutton places Jinnah's fear of emotion, as a trait central to both his politics and personality. Of all the known reviewers, Hutton alone points to the altruistic nature of Jinnah's political career. This is the deepest analysis of all, and it is a great pity that T.W. Hutton never again had the occasion to write on Jinnah

Even a cursory glance at these reviews is enough to verify that basically those who disliked Jinnah disliked Bolitho's book. It is evident from the selections from the original draft, that left to himself Jinnah was the last political figure he would have chosen to depict. Bolitho had tentatively titled his first draft

*The Jinnah Legend*, a subconscious apprehension that his biography was removed from reality. He sharply disagreed with Sarojini Naidu's appraisal of Jinnah, and not content with describing her as a 'spendthrift with words' he went on, after a few pages to write: 'Mrs Naidu's estimate of her hero was perhaps too grand with words'. He succeeds in imbuing the word 'hero' with irony. Even harsher was Bolitho's imputing to Jinnah a sentiment of which he could not have had direct knowledge: 'Jinnah permitted himself a little intoxication of victory' and even worse in taste was Bolitho's application to Jinnah of the Actonian cliché: 'He did not live long enough to be corrupted by power, even if that were possible'.

Even twelve years later the bitterness lingered. Hector Bolitho began a Pakistan Day article with the complaint that Pakistanis removed the statue of Queen Victoria from public view. Even after an extended stay in Pakistan, he did not realize that this was due to religious and not political considerations. It still rankled with him that the noble sentiments of royalty towards India were not acknowledged. In this article Bolitho claimed that his friendship with Majeed Malik had endured. Bolitho still cautioned against the adulation of Jinnah, 'He was a realist; it is not enough to worship him.'

It was not by Majeed Malik that he was ill-served. Bolitho was offended by the lobby which had refused to co-operate with him. 'Send the foreign hireling home' screamed a headline in Karachi. That was the unkindest cut of all, quite unbecoming of a host country

Hector Bolitho was a prolific writer. He started out as a novelist, wrote horror stories, at least one of which *The House in Half Moon Street* was staged in 1935. He wrote royal biographies, including one of Prince Albert, but it was his portrayal of a man he never met, never knew and never liked that has saved his name from being cast into oblivion.

For this he needed to thank Majeed Malik, who had the thankless task of vigilance. He would have reason to thank Sharif Al Mujahid who so meticulously obtained, preserved and edited the papers he left behind and is now presenting to the academic world. It must be apparent now why Majeed Malik

withheld from the official biography unfair rendering of Jinnah. We have also seen that policy was not the sole criterion for exclusion. Majeed Malik censored three pages about Shalamar along with purple passages about morning in Karachi. A few exclusions nevertheless remain inexplicable. It is understandable why, for the sake of decorum, Majeed Malik withheld Jinnah's remark calling Gandhi 'a wily old fox', but it is not clear why he excluded three passages describing the loss of Muslims in the partition riots. However all passages which were censored for their content, form the last section of *In Quest of Jinnah*. Was then Hector Bolitho's book an insincere tribute? Considering the impediments put in his way, it was natural that Bolitho nurtured mixed feelings. Only two of his passages are enough to show what was withheld from him: 'But getting facts and serious stories that help me into Jinnah's mind is the devil's own business'. 'I have since learnt that these books of [newspaper] cuttings still exist with the day by day notes of what was happening in Jinnah's mind. But I have not been allowed to see them'. Read this last complaint alongside this sentence of Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada:

Save for an incomplete manuscript of about four hundred pages of recollections of political events from 1906 to 1943 Jinnah did not get time to write an autobiography.

The quest for Jinnah has not ended; the quest for Jinnah has begun.

# Mohammad Ali Jinnah

KULDIP NAYAR

My regret, as a journalist, is that I did not interview Mohammad Ali Jinnah. I have on record all the important persons connected with the division of the subcontinent, but not the Quaid-i-Azam, as Mahatma Gandhi would address him. The main reason is that I joined journalism only after partition, settling in Delhi from Sialkot and not visiting Pakistan in its early years when the Quaid was still alive. However, as chance would have it, I met him in Lahore two or three years before the British quit India. He came to our Law College to address the students' wing of the Muslim League. Habib, one of my friends, had invited me.



The Quaid's speech was brief, to the point, explaining why the creation of Pakistan was necessary to have peace between Muslims and Hindus, the two separate nations. Wearing a three-piece suit, he looked elegant. He was as thin as I saw him first, some five years earlier when I was present at the venue, again in Lahore, where the Pakistan Resolution was adopted in the midst of faith and fervor. I remember him giving his presidential address that yoking together

two nations of Muslims and Hindus under a single state would lead first to growing discontent and then to destruction.

What looked like a dream at one time was beginning to be a reality, that was, a sovereign state of Pakistan. The two questions put to the Quaid at the Law College meeting were based on the concern which I had begun to entertain after the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution. What would happen in the two countries, I asked, after the British withdrew. I feared the worst and said so. Hostility between Hindus and Muslims was so much that they would jump at each other's throat. The Quaid's reply was confident in contrast to my agitated voice. He said: 'We would be the best of friends. Some nations had killed millions of each other's and yet an enemy of today was a friend of tomorrow. See France and Germany. How friendly were they now? That is history'.

The second question was a hypothetical one: Suppose a third country was to attack India, what would be the attitude of Pakistan? He did not pause even for a second in replying. 'We would stand by you', said the Quaid, 'our soldiers would fight along with yours to repel the invasion. Young man, Blood is thicker than water'. Those words still resound in my ears.

It did not surprise me when I came across substantial evidence to prove that Jinnah was pushed to partition. He did not want it but he saw no alternative when the Cabinet Mission proposal, with a weak centre and autonomous regional units, was first rejected by the Congress party and then accepted. 'I do not trust them now' when Lord Mountbatten, Britain's last viceroy, told him that Pakistan was a reality. Mountbatten told me in an interview that Jinnah did not agree to have any ties with India.

That Jinnah was not willing to accept the onus of partition was told to me by Louis Heren, the representative of *The Times*, London, at New Delhi in 1947-48, months before partition and later. I met him at the Times office in London in 1971. This was when I was collecting material for my book, *Distant Neighbours*, a story of India-Pakistan relations. I asked him whether he ever met Jinnah after partition. He said he spent one evening with him at Kohat, a cantonment in the North West Frontier Province

(NWFP). Heren complained to Jinnah that as a person who fought in the Burma theatre of war, he felt unhappy over the division of armed forces. In a letter to me dated 3 October 1971, Heren said 'We (Jinnah and Heren) (were) together one evening, when while acknowledging the creation of Pakistan and the political necessity for it, I regretted the partition of the Indian subcontinent. I can recall referring to the tragedy—for anybody who knew it in the past—of the division of the old Indian Army and the ICS. Strangely he acknowledged all this and then went on to blame Nehru for the partition as I said when we met in London.'

Jinnah said: 'Nehru was responsible for partition. Had he agreed to the Muslim League joining the UP Congress government in 1937, there would have been no Pakistan.' The letter Heren wrote to me said that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a venerable old leader of the Congress, regretted that Nehru's rejection gave the Muslim League 'a new lease of life'. His allegation was that Nehru's judgment was impaired by Purushottam Das Tandon, a Hindu nationalist at a top position in the Congress in UP. The Maulana wrote in his book, *India Wins Freedom*, that even Mahatma Gandhi did not intervene 'as he should have done'.

I do not know whether the two seats in the Congress government would have stopped the Muslim community's aspiration to have a country of its own. Nehru's defence was not known to me for a long time. I was in the Lok Sabha press gallery in 1959 when he spoke with a heavy heart on the withholding of 30 pages of Azad's book, *India Wins Freedom*, on the latter's wishes. Nehru said that he was pained by the Maulana Sahib's words. But they were his and he respected them. In explanation he said he did not favour 'feudal elements' in UP at that time.

Many years after partition, H.K. Khurshid, Jinnah's private secretary, narrated to me an incident after the Quaid-i-Azam had become the Governor-General. Sitting at a lunch table in the palatial Governor-General's house were Jinnah, his sister, Fatima and Khurshid. A young naval officer attached to the Governor-General, was sitting opposite Jinnah who spoke very little. The naval officer, who was narrating the loss of his parents killed in India during the







migration, asked: 'Quaid-i-Azam, was Pakistan the right thing to have?' Jinnah took some time and replied: 'I do not know young man. Only the posterity would decide.'

What has really made me understand the Quaid was his famous speech to the constituent assembly: 'You are free; you are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the state...We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state. Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is a

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# Jinnah: The Making of Quaid-i-Azam

SHARIF AL MUJAHID

**D**espite his impeccable public life (since 1904), despite his soaring idealism, lofty principles and clean politics, despite his notable accomplishments and distinctive contributions towards advancing the Indian cause, and despite his long years of singular service to the community and the country, the Quaid-i-Azam of the 1940s was known as 'plain Mr Jinnah' till late 1937. However, his progression from *Zamun' Millat* and *Quaid-i-Millat*, early in 1938, to *Quaid-i-Azam* within two years was rather phenomenal. Just as the title, 'Mahatma', conferred on Gandhiji (1869-1948) by Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), became instantly popular, so did the prefix, 'Quaid-i-Azam'. This was indexed by references to Jinnah in the Muslim press, by the slogans raised at political moots and public meetings, and, above all, by Gandhi's 16 January 1940 letter, wherein he addressed Jinnah as 'Dear Quaid Azam'.

How did this spectacular transformation come about, after all? Because in those three crucial years (1937-40), he had donned the role of an 'event-making man' in the Sydney Hook sense; because while, on the



conceptual level, he had fulfilled the role of a standard bearer, the Muslim cause was frantically in search of, on the empirical plane, of a tried and tested leader. Because in squarely fulfilling that critical role he had proved himself to be the *right* man at the *right* place and the *right* time, as laid down by Hook in his 'eventful' versus 'event-making man' typology. And because, in donning that role, he had held forth the bright prospect of creating 'a fork in the historical road', which would redeem the downtrodden Muslims and put them securely on the sure road to the portals of power and the pinnacle of glory. Also, because he had superbly fulfilled the critical Hegelian leadership test which lays down that 'the great man of the age is one who can put into words the will of his age, tell his age what its will is, and accomplish it. What he does is the heart and essence of his age; he actualizes his age.' Thus, for the hundred million demonized, down-graded and downtrodden Muslims, he had donned the role of a *zeitgeist* ('spirit of the age') in the Hegelian sense. And a *deedawar* in the Iqbalian leadership framework. Indeed, Iqbal (1877–1938) had recognized him as such in 1937, remarking, 'You are the only Muslim ... to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm that is coming....'

Now, how did Jinnah manage to fulfil this role so remarkably? Equally important, how did he manage to convince the Muslims, ever so sceptical about their leaders' claims and credentials, that he would do it where others had failed so miserably? All said and done, by launching himself upon a twin quest. First, the quest for a pan-Indian Muslim community, that is, a united and solidified 'Muslim India' within the larger subcontinental context as the 'third side' in the political triangle of India's body politic. A third side that could negotiate from a position of strength and as 'an equal' with the other two sides, to devise an equitable power distribution mechanism for India's future dispensation. And, second, the quest for an equitable share of power in the future Indian cosmos, a quest that seemed forlorn, given the dismal Muslim situation in mid-1937, when Muslim India was a 'No man's land', to quote Jinnah.

And what was remarkable about this twin quest was that it was at the centre of Indian Islam's legacy, a

quest dating back to Shah Waliullah (1703–62). An outstanding seer and a man of vision, Shah Waliullah had formulated the doctrine of 'Indo-Muslim resistance to the concentration of power in non-Muslim hands', and got it entrenched in the Muslim psyche, through his religio-political movement, to a point that it became the cornerstone of their legacy on the political plane. A century later, during the 1860s–1890s, when the Muslims had unfazed themselves from their 1857 traumatic nightmare, they returned to this erstwhile twin quest—the quest, in view of the new political context, for a separate politico-cultural identity in India's body politic, and for an adequate share in power. Equally important, this quest had inspired, in one way or another, all Muslim movements, demands, and formulae, whether religious, educational, cultural, or political, since the 1870s—from the Aligarh movement of the 1870s to Jinnah's Fourteen Points of 1929.

Eight years later, early in 1937, the quest for a pan-Indian Muslim constituency inspired Jinnah's riposte to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), the Congress President, when he sought to impose a 'two-forces' doctrine on India's body politic: '...in the final analysis', he had asserted, 'there are only two forces in India today—British imperialism and the Congress representing Indian nationalism', adding, 'all "third party", middle and undecided groups etc. have no real importance ...' To which Jinnah's rebuttal was: 'I refuse to accept this proposition. There is a third party in this country and that is Muslim India....'

To make good this claim, Jinnah presently breathed new life into the moribund Muslim League (f. 1906), and organized it methodically from the lowest level. He extended its support base to encompass the whole of the subcontinent; he made its policies and programme coherent and viable; he infused enthusiasm and confidence in the rank and file; he laid out the grass-root organizational networks, built up communication channels, and crafted a chain of command through a hierarchically structured leadership. Consequently, within three brief years (1937–40), a revitalized Muslim League, under his astute leadership, had developed into a formidable political machine, to confront and counter the almost impregnable and





long-entrenched Indian National Congress (f. 1885), both at the ballot box and in the streets.

Thus, by 1942, the League had mustered strength to the point that it commanded the allegiance of 304 out of 524 central and provincial assembly Muslim members, and won 55 out of 71 Muslim seats in by-elections between January 1938 and early 1945, the rest going to Independents and only three to the Congress which had so cavalierly written off the League out of India's body politic in 1936–37. This meant that the League had acquired a 'social depth' among Muslims comparable to the Congress, especially, among the Hindus. One immediate and more manifest result of all this was a quickening of Muslim community consciousness and the welding of Muslim solidarity, making the pan-Indian Muslim community concept and the 'third party' status claim a *fait accompli*. Clearly, in the context of the Muslim leadership's prolonged and desperate quest for it since Shah Waliullah, this indeed represented a singular achievement. That's why the title, Quaid-i-Azam, came to acquire a synonymical status with his real name, i.e. Jinnah by 1940.

Of the twin quest, there still remained the quest for an adequate or equitable share in power. That quest seemed forlorn, destined to end up in smoke, in mid-1937, when Muslim India, wallowing in political wilderness, seemed irrevocably consigned to a permanent 'minority' status. However, to make good his bold promise to restore power to Muslim India and acquire for it a 'third-party' status, Jinnah conjured up the concept of Muslim nationhood, and ingeniously crafted a territorial solution in Pakistan, both in 1940, skirting around the Westphalian (1648) 'sanctity' of borders dictum—in this case, of the British Indian Empire or British India. If the Muslims could not share the throne with the Hindus in an all-India dispensation, they should have a throne to themselves in their demographically dominant regions, and this by invoking the Woodrow Wilsonian principle of self-determination. And this gave the quest for power a shot in the arm: it made the quest meaningful; it endowed it with a fortuitous chance of sure success.

Muslims, everywhere and all through the ages, had always regarded themselves as a 'charismatic community'—the concept which squarely answered their psychic need for endowing and sanctifying 'their

sense of community with a sense of power', says Montgomery Watt. To Indian Muslims in the crisis-laden 1940s, Pakistan represented a charismatic goal—a goal congruent with the concept of the charismatic community. The dethronement of this concept, in mundane terms, had haunted Muslims ever since they had incrementally lost political power to the British, beginning with Plassey (1757); hence the call for Pakistan energized them beyond measure and enthused them instantly. For one thing, the call, with its messianic hope of a restoration of power and glory to Muslims, tended to gather all the teeming million Muslims on one platform, as indexed by the 1945–46 general elections results. By then, these millions had enabled Jinnah to make the grade in terms of Lenin's (1870–1924) dictum: 'politics begin where the masses are, not where there are thousands, but where there are millions, that is where serious politics begin'. For another, just as Winston Churchill's (1874–1965) opting out to symbolize in his own person the British monolithic posture of stout defiance against Germans' plans to invade, subdue and occupy the British Isles for good had transformed him into a charismatic leader of the highest calibre between 1940 and 1945, so was Jinnah's leadership endorsed with a charismatic streak when he chose to unfurl the Pakistan banner in 1940.

In the final analysis, then, it was, again, the teeming millions that had made possible the fruition of the twin quest for a pan-Indian Muslim community and for restitution of power, at the hands of Jinnah. 'Without them (the Muslim masses), neither I nor anybody else could have achieved anything', asserted Jinnah on 11 January 1946. And, if only because of these singular achievements, he became an 'event-making', rather than a mere 'eventful', man in the Hook sense. An event-making man, who had helped to create 'a fork in the historical road' and left 'the positive imprint of his personality upon history—an imprint that is still observable after he has disappeared from the scene'. He, thus, became, as it were, the crystal in the crucible of Muslim leadership since about AD 1800 and that explains why he came to be hailed as the Quaid-i-Azam since about 1940.

# *Inheriting the Raj: Jinnah and the Governor-Generalship Issue*

AYESHA JALAL



**I**n 1947 the British partitioned India and transferred power to two separate Dominions. Partition, however, did not mean the division of India between two 'successor' states. 'India' inherited British India's unitary centre, while 'Pakistan' consisted of areas with Muslim majorities which were merely seen as 'contracting out' of the 'Union of India'. Congress's inheritance of the existing union centre gave it effective control over the joint assets of the two Dominions. The notion of a common Governor-General was, on the face of it, intended to safeguard Pakistan's share in the division of assets. The Indian Independence Bill was drafted on the implicit assumption that Mountbatten would remain as Governor-General for both Dominions until the division of the Indian army had been completed. As common Governor-General, Mountbatten could supervise the reallocation of assets and at the same time encourage co-operation between the two Dominions. But the reallocation of assets could not take place until a new centre had been created for the 'seceding' areas. The implication was that if a Pakistan

centre was not formed, the assets would not be divided, and a Governor-General with a common touch could guide the Muslim areas back into the 'Union of India'. Mohammad Ali Jinnah clearly recognized what might happen if there was a common Governor-General for two Dominions, one of which was to be regarded as the 'successor' and the other as the 'seceder'. If Pakistan was to survive its 'secession' it needed a strong central government which could impose its authority over provinces which for so long had been governed from New Delhi. There were monumental difficulties involved in creating a Pakistan centre. It was to mitigate these difficulties that Jinnah refused to accept a common Governor-General with the rest of India.<sup>1</sup> By highlighting Jinnah's strategic aims it is possible to see how British and Congress imperatives, together with his uncertain control over the Muslim areas, left him with no alternative but to become Pakistan's first Governor-General.<sup>2</sup>

From first to last Jinnah's main concern had been the arrangements by which power at the centre was to be shared after the British quit India. After 1940, by asserting that Indian Muslims were a nation, and not a minority, Jinnah had based his strategy on the argument that India contained two nations and a transfer of power necessarily involved the dissolution of the unitary centre created by the British. Any reconstitution of the centre would have to be agreed upon by Muslim provinces as well as by the Princely States. Once the British and the Congress had accepted the nub of the League's demand that when power was transferred the Muslim provinces as a group would form a separate state, then it remained, for Jinnah at least, an open question whether that state would enter into a confederation with non-Muslim provinces (Hindustan) on the basis of equality at the centre, or whether, as a sovereign state, it would make treaty arrangements with the rest of India about matters of common concern. In either case, the League's demand was that 'Pakistan', the territorial expression of the Muslim claim to nationhood, had to be conceded first, and the exact shape and powers of the centre to be arranged afterwards. Implicit in this demand was the claim that the League spoke for all Indian Muslims, and political geography ensured that the Muslim nation would have almost as many

citizens beyond its borders as inside them. Jinnah had tried to get around this problem by asserting that the two main Muslim-majority provinces, Punjab and Bengal, would keep their existing boundaries (and hence their large non-Muslim minorities). He also assumed implicitly, if not explicitly, that a Muslim state built around these provinces would be part of a larger all-India whole in which minority Muslims outside the Muslim territory would be protected by the similar position that non-Muslims would have inside it. But if Jinnah and the League were to play their part in the making of the all-India arrangements they needed support from all Indian Muslims, in majority and minority provinces alike. This is why the 'Pakistan' demand had to be cast in uncompromisingly communal terms. Yet it was the communal slant to his unspecific programme, directed mainly at getting the appearance of support from divided Muslims, which in the end threatened Jinnah's political purposes at the centre. These purposes depended upon keeping the Punjab and Bengal undivided. At no point between 1940 and 1947 was Jinnah able to reconcile this fundamental contradiction. By keeping the demand for 'Pakistan' vague, and its territories undefined, Jinnah had made it possible for his followers to exploit the League's communal demand without having to face its implications: the partition of the Punjab and Bengal.<sup>3</sup>

The failure of the British, of the Congress, and indeed of his own followers, to force him to face the fatal contradiction in the 'Pakistan' demand had allowed Jinnah to concentrate upon the centre and raise his political standing there. Yet despite his large claims, the League achieved little in terms of effective control over the Muslim-majority province politicians, and also over the populace at the base. The failure to build a solid political organization reaching down from the League's High Command into the provinces and districts of Muslim India combined with the millennial expectations aroused by an undefined cry for 'Pakistan' critically narrowed Jinnah's options during the final negotiations leading to the British transfer of power. The Cabinet Mission's May 1946 proposals for a three-tier political structure<sup>4</sup> came close to giving Jinnah what he was really after. Compulsory grouping of provinces handed the





*Constituent Assembly, 1947*

League a centre capable of disciplining the Muslim provinces and bringing them into an Indian union. But although the Congress had accepted the Mission's proposals, its acceptance had been so hedged with qualifications that it was by no means certain that grouping, so essential to Jinnah's plans, would survive. Grouping alone could guarantee Jinnah an effective

say at the centre. Signs that Congress intended to break provincial grouping convinced Jinnah that the Mission's proposals were not a secure basis for a settlement. A sovereign 'Pakistan' centre alone could ensure the League's control over the Muslim provinces. But 'Pakistan' had to include undivided Bengal and the Punjab, and be entitled to a large share

of the centre's spoils (particularly the army) if Jinnah was to have something to negotiate with in the making of the broader all-India arrangements. Such arrangements he always assumed would have to be made. And Jinnah needed time. When London, without first conceding the principle of 'Pakistan' and of undivided Muslim provinces, announced on 20 February 1947 its decision to quit India by June 1948, it dealt a bitter blow to Jinnah's entire strategy.

London's deadline set the stage for an understanding between the Attlee government and the Congress High Command. Both sides wanted India to have independence soon, and both wanted a constitution which gave India a strong unitary centre—the British because this was the best way of assuring their economic and strategic interests in South Asia, and the Congress High Command because a strong unitary centre would enable it to control its provinces and discipline its followers. All that remained was somehow to strike a balance between transferring power quickly and leaving India united. The balance was a particularly delicate one since the casings of order and of strong unitary government, already cracked, were about to break open. The strains upon a tottering administration made all the Indian parties, Congress quite as much as the less organized and less disciplined League, nervous about their ability to impose order after the massive troubles which were likely to accompany a British transfer of power. Yet whatever Congress's difficulties with its own followers and however uncertain the High Command's control over its provinces, it was far better placed than the League now that power at the centre was at last within reach. It could now call the shots in the end game secure in the knowledge that the British had neither the will nor the resources to give Jinnah and the League what they wanted. Concessions to Jinnah even along the lines of the Mission's proposals seemed too high a price to pay for Indian unity. Keeping the Muslim provinces inside the union assumed a weak federal centre, incapable of disciplining any of its provincial arms, least of all the Muslim provinces. But above all, such an arrangement would have meant giving the League a share of power at an already weak centre. The experience of joint office with the League in the interim government had confirmed Congress's

view that power shared with the League was a power flawed and uncertain, clearly hinting how the central authority of the Congress might be undermined in an independent India organized along the lines of the Mission's proposals.

So within a fortnight of London imposing its deadline, the Congress came out into the open with its ultimatum which had been gathering momentum in its inner councils for some time past. Taking the logic of Jinnah's demand to its extreme, Congress offered him a 'Pakistan' stripped of the Punjab's eastern divisions (Ambala and Jullundur), Assam (except Sylhet) and western Bengal and Calcutta—the 'mutilated and moth-eaten' Pakistan which Jinnah had rejected out of hand in 1944 and again in May 1946. If Jinnah accepted division on these terms, Congress would not only win its strong centre but also permanently eject the League and its rump of supporters from the all-India arrangements which their presence so seriously prejudiced. If Jinnah did not accept division on these terms, then his only alternative was to be forced back into an union where Congress was real master, capable step by step of cutting the League out of all share of power. But there was a more deadly machiavellian calculation in Congress's offer. According to Congress's time-table, a transfer of power would take place before June 1948 by the seemingly innocuous device of converting the existing interim government into a 'Dominion Government with effective control over the services and administration'. As a safeguard for minority rights the Viceroy would serve as its 'constitutional head'.<sup>5</sup> The centre would keep all its existing powers, especially over an undivided Indian army, and there would be no devolution of power to the provinces.<sup>6</sup> By cutting the provinces out of the negotiations, Congress's proposal would postpone Pakistan until after independence. If the British were ready to accept this line, Congress for its part hinted for the first time that independent India might be ready to remain within the Commonwealth, an attractive bait for London.<sup>7</sup>

This was ominous for Jinnah. Congress dominated the interim government. If that government in effect became the government to which power was transferred there could be no question of dissolving

the centre and reconstituting it on a new basis which guaranteed the League its share in the division of the assets. Already faced with the prospect of having to settle for a truncated Pakistan, and perhaps even losing some parts of a hardly viable state if there was a revolt by his followers in provinces facing amputation, Jinnah could be squeezed into accepting the Mission's proposals on Congress's unbending terms. If Jinnah refused to accept these terms he would have to take the League out of the interim government and allow the Congress to proceed with framing a constitution according to its unfettered will. With the 'Pakistan' issue conveniently set aside for the time being, Congress could frame a constitution providing for a strong unitary centre. Muslim-majority provinces wishing to secede from the union would have to consider the advantages and disadvantages of losing substantial chunks of their provinces and this might well be a disincentive to their separatism. This was why Jinnah needed a constitutional settlement first, and the transfer of power afterwards, a point of view, however inconvenient, to which the British reluctantly had to give due consideration since they were trammelled by their earlier pledges and by the sheer weight of opinion, whether in the metropolis, in India, or in the world at large.

Whatever the growing conformity of purpose between the British and the Congress, however uncertain Jinnah's hold over the Muslim provinces, the 'Pakistan' issue had to be settled before the transfer of power. But even a Pakistan trimmed to the bone meant splitting up the Indian army, a process involving delays and dangers which neither the British nor the Congress High Command were ready to countenance.<sup>8</sup> Since Jinnah could not be persuaded to accept the Mission's proposals, Mountbatten offered him a truncated Pakistan which would still have to share a common organization with the rest of India for overall defence purposes. A Pakistan without an army of its own was a laughable proposition and Mountbatten believed that this at least would convince Jinnah that he was casting away the 'substance for the shadow'.<sup>9</sup> Jinnah hardly needed the Viceroy to tell him how to play his cards. Pakistan had to have an army of its own; this alone could ensure the League a place in a 'central organisation on terms of parity'.<sup>10</sup> And parity

in any all-India arrangements was the substance, not the shadow, of Jinnah's demands. It was his search for parity in all-India arrangements which had placed Jinnah in the 'ridiculous situation' where he had to settle for a horribly mutilated Pakistan and still accept common arrangements with the rest of India. As the Viceroy himself explained:

The real difference lies in the fact that in the former case [i.e. a truncated but sovereign Pakistan] there would be parity at the Centre and the League would not be outvoted. But it shows what value the League sets on parity, since to obtain it they are prepared to sacrifice the richest plums of Pakistan.<sup>11</sup>

But the Congress, seeing the entire cake within its grasp, was not ready to rest content with the richest plums. If the League was not willing to accept the Mission's proposals without further cavil or delay, then according to Vallabhbhai Patel, 'Congress desired partition'.<sup>12</sup> If the only all-India arrangements that the League would make were between two sovereign states, then Congress was not ready to share power at all. In other words, the Congress would not accept any deal by which it joined the League and Pakistan at an all-India level.<sup>13</sup> It followed that the Indian army would have to be divided. Jinnah had hinted at the possibility of a defence alliance between Pakistan and Hindustan.<sup>14</sup> But Mountbatten saw that there was little point in raising the question of common defence on the basis of parity. Patel had told him in unequivocal terms: 'if you raise the question of parity you will incur the everlasting enmity of Congress; that is the one thing we have been fighting against and will never agree to'.<sup>15</sup> Mountbatten concluded that 'anything but a clean partition would produce enmity on the part of the Congress', and if he 'fell foul of Congress it would be impossible to run the country'.

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On 2 May Mountbatten sent his first partition plan to London. The plan assumed a partition of the Punjab and Bengal and the creation of a truncated Pakistan. Much as Mountbatten had hoped, Congress did amend its position. In a plan which was essentially the same as Congress's original formula for early



Dominion Status to the existing central government. Nehru proposed leaving the whole question of Pakistan and the partition of the provinces until they had decided whether or not to form groups. Muslim areas could still leave the Indian union. But only after the constitution had been framed, and only on the condition that the Punjab and Bengal were partitioned. This was the Mission's plan with Congress's modifications. The real innovation was the large assumption that the 'Union of India' already existed and the areas that decided to leave would be 'contracting out'.<sup>17</sup> This knocked away the entire basis of Jinnah's claim that the existing unitary centre should be dissolved and any new all-India arrangements be negotiated on the basis of two sovereign states, Pakistan and Hindustan. To persuade London to accept their line, Nehru and Patel now came forward with a definite offer to keep the 'Union of India' inside the Commonwealth,<sup>18</sup> and showed their readiness to abandon their goal of immediate independence and settle for Dominion Status in 1947 until a new constitution had been framed.

Mountbatten swallowed the bait too quickly. Here was 'the greatest opportunity ever offered to the Empire and we must not let administrative or other difficulties stand in the way'.<sup>19</sup> Dominion Status here and now would achieve a 'terrific world-wide enhancement of British prestige', and 'speed' was 'the essence of the contract'.<sup>20</sup> It would now be possible to ignore Jinnah's awkward offer, which had been registered before Congress's, of bringing Pakistan into the Commonwealth. Amongst the various 'administrative and other difficulties' that Mountbatten was prepared to overlook was London's reminder that 'there is at present no Union but only a Constituent Assembly representing in the main the Provinces of Section A [i.e. the Hindu-majority provinces]'.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the 'Union' as conceived by Congress was to be given Dominion Status in a matter of months, forcing the Muslim districts prematurely into a birth which they were unlikely to survive. It would take six to eight months before Pakistan could set up its own constituent assembly and executive, and Mountbatten believed he would be doing a great service to the League by offering to continue as Governor-General for both sides. In his own blunt metaphor



*Replying to the address by Lord Mountbatten, Constituent Assembly, 14 August 1947*

'Administratively it is the difference between putting up a permanent building, a nissen hut or a tent. As far as Pakistan is concerned we are putting up a tent. We can do no more'.<sup>22</sup> With one side given the key to the 'permanent building' and the other merely promised a tattered tent in the back and beyond it was wholly predictable that the less fortunate inhabitants of the latter would question the wisdom in claiming descent from a common father. There were other difficulties with Congress's plan for early Dominion Status. It was based on the assumption that it could serve as 'an alternative plan which could be a substitute for partition'. Thus, Mountbatten had to be reminded, would be 'contrary to the assurances by H.M.G.'.<sup>23</sup> If the 'Union of India' received powers before Pakistan there would be unavoidable disjunctions in the powers exercised by the Governor-General. To ensure a just division of the Government of India's assets the Governor-General would have to be given powers over defence, foreign affairs and finance. Without such powers he would be at the beck and call of the 'Union' government. But these powers would amount to a veto and make nonsense



of Dominion Status. Congress at any rate hoped to exercise full control over the Indian army except on limited subjects over which the Joint Defence Council would have authority. Jinnah would reject this out of hand and call for an immediate division of the army. So power had to be transferred simultaneously to the two Dominions. London would never agree to dilute the Viceroy's powers before June 1948 'unless the basis of partition both of territory and of the central subjects had been settled'.<sup>24</sup>

For the time being these constitutional niceties were less important than the India Committee's amendments to the Viceroy's partition plan—'Plan Balkan'. Not only did the Committee reject the Congress line that the 'Union of India' already existed but took the logic of 'Plan Balkan' to its own awkward conclusion. Since the partition plan was an alternative to the Mission's plan, the Committee based itself on the principle of 'local option' in Cripps' offer of 1942 and gave all the provinces, Hindu and Muslim alike, the right to choose whether to enter the existing constituent assembly, or to group to form a new one, or to stand out on their own.<sup>25</sup> This effectively abolished the existing unitary centre. It required no superior intelligence or 'absolute hunch'<sup>26</sup> to see that the Congress High Command would have nothing to do with the plan. Indeed, the partition plan as amended by London had a 'devastating effect' on Nehru.<sup>27</sup> Mountbatten saw no reason to show the plan to Jinnah. It followed that the plan needed a 'considerable recast, both in principle and detail'.<sup>28</sup> All this would be done in New Delhi, under Congress's supervision, indirect if not direct. In the meantime the crucial meeting of Indian leaders (of both sides) scheduled for 17 May was postponed until 2 June. This was sufficient to warn Jinnah that something was amiss. Already in a 'most distressed state of mind',<sup>29</sup> unable to prevent a partition of the Punjab and Bengal, deeply apprehensive about Congress's intentions to use the Indian army to quell disturbances in the Muslim provinces<sup>30</sup> and extremely uncertain about getting even the tattered remains of the promised 'tent', Jinnah was understandably 'seriously troubled by the prospect opening out before him'.<sup>31</sup> Congress's plan for early Dominion Status and a partition plan assuming the existence of an 'Union of India' to

which power could be transferred without ado had placed Jinnah inside the jaws of a nutcracker.

But Mountbatten, finally recognizing the limits to plenipotentiary power, decided to keep the question of early Dominion Status in reserve until London had accepted his revisions. The obvious change was to deny the provinces the right to go their independent ways. Either they had to like it (and remain in the existing constituent assembly) or lump it and form a new one (the Pakistan assembly). Understandably London was amazed by Mountbatten's revisions. After all, now that the Mission's plan for an union of India was dead, 'the broad principles of the Cripps offer' (in the Secretary of State's opinion) governed the rules of the game. This suggested that a third option should be offered, 'certainly to Bengal and also to the Punjab', namely the option of 'remaining united and framing its own constitution'.<sup>32</sup> But if any one province was given this option, it could not be denied to the others. So Mountbatten advocated the Congress line that the Mission plan was not dead except to the League and that an 'Union of India' already existed to which power could be transferred in 1947. Attlee summoned his Viceroy back to make his dramatically different case.

Before going to London, Mountbatten tested Jinnah's reactions to the revised draft announcement and what were essentially Congress's proposals (prepared by V.P. Menon) for an early transfer of power on the basis of Dominion Status for both sides. Jinnah of course made the expected protests: the League could never 'agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab'.<sup>33</sup> But more significant than this was Jinnah's outright rejection of the proposals for handing over power to the interim government. According to these proposals, if by some miracle unity could be preserved, then power would be transferred to the existing constituent assembly and India be given Dominion Status. If, however, power had to be transferred to two sovereign states, they would each receive Dominion Status. There would be a common Governor-General for both states and a Defence Council to supervise the division of the Indian army. But the real twist in these seemingly straightforward proposals was that until legislation had been passed by Parliament to grant Dominion Status to the two states, the existing



Amir Ali Khan Noon, the Governor-General of Pakistan, with Justice Abdul Rashid, Chief Justice of Pakistan

interim government would 'by convention be treated as a Dominion Government' with the Governor-General 'exercising his over-riding powers to safeguard the legitimate interests of the minorities'.<sup>34</sup> In other words, power would be transferred to the existing interim government on the basis of Dominion Status before the Pakistan constituent assembly had been formed. The apparent concession to the League's interests, namely a common Governor-General, was a dubious proposition if one part of India was to receive powers before the other. The Congress calculation, of course, was that the disciplines of a strong unitary centre which it would create, together with the change of heart which a serious consideration of the consequences of partition might bring, would concentrate the minds of the Punjabi and Bengali Muslims and might encourage them to see unionist sense and ditch Jinnah and the League. The only way Jinnah could avoid this catastrophe was to go along with the revised partition plan, which at least conceded the principle of Pakistan, and hope that London would refuse to transfer power to the existing interim government before a new constituent assembly had been created for the Muslim areas.

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On 17 May when Mountbatten first broached the subject of a common Governor-General with Jinnah, the reaction was predictable. Jinnah was 'violently opposed' to the idea and wanted separate Governors-General for the two states with a British Crown representative acting as the supreme arbitrator responsible for the division of assets. But he refused to commit himself on the subject until he had seen Nehru's comments on the partition plan and the proposals for a transfer of power on the basis of Dominion Status. So Mountbatten had to leave for London with only a vague assurance from Jinnah that the League would consider alternatives if it was impossible to have a supreme arbitrator.<sup>35</sup>

Jinnah's tactic clearly was to gain time until he had seen the final draft announcement and was certain that there would be no transfer of power to the existing central government. In view of his strong objections to the idea of transferring power to the

existing interim government 'by convention', two alternative proposals omitting this clause were drafted. Alternative 'A' envisaged a common Governor-General for both states, while alternative 'B' assumed that there would be separate Governors-General for each state. Jinnah had promised to send his reactions to these two proposals after he had studied Nehru's comments on them. But he was sent extracts from Nehru's letter which in any case referred to Menon's original proposals for a transfer of power to the existing interim government. So Jinnah refused flatly to give his views on the Governor-Generalship since 'Pandit Nehru's comments refer to some other draft and not to the draft on which my views are sought'.<sup>36</sup> Tongue in cheek, Jinnah maintained, 'it is difficult for me to understand as to what exactly is the position of the Congress with regard to these proposals about which my views are sought'. Nehru appeared to be under the mistaken notion that the existing interim government could serve as a Dominion government. As far as Jinnah was concerned 'there has never been any proposal of giving Dominion Status or assigning Dominion functions to any authority, by convention', and the dissolution of the interim government was the logical corollary of partition.<sup>37</sup> Realizing that he might be fighting a losing battle, Jinnah declared a unilateral moratorium on the subject until the draft announcement had been accepted by all sides. Then in 'light' of H.M.G.'s announcement 'we might be able to pursue His Excellency's idea of getting an agreement on the principles underlying these drafts, in clear terms'.<sup>38</sup>

After seeing Nehru's full comments on the draft announcement and the proposals for a transfer of power during the interim period, Jinnah had no doubt about what Congress was playing for. It had not accepted partition as a foregone conclusion and was still hoping that power would in the end be transferred to only one authority, namely the 'Union of India'. On Nehru's insistence, 'if formed' was inserted in parenthesis after 'new Constituent Assembly' in paragraph nineteen of the draft announcement which Mountbatten had taken with him to London.<sup>39</sup> Nehru's comments on the alternative proposals for a transfer of power also suggested that Congress had by no means conceded



the principle of Pakistan. While Congress preferred a common Governor-General for both states (alternative 'A'), Nehru quickly pointed out that the deleted paragraph of Menon's original proposals were the most important feature of the plan to transfer power to the interim government. It followed that any plan to transfer power on the basis of Dominion Status had to account for the possibility that there might be only one central government of India: 'Whatever the chances of partition it was improper to take it for granted that there will be a partition when people are asked to vote on the issue'. And although Nehru did not press for including the clause relating to a transfer to the existing interim government 'by convention', he made it 'perfectly clear that this was very important and H.M.G. should know our views in the matter'.<sup>40</sup> If this was not sufficient proof for Jinnah that Pakistan might never see the light of day, then Nehru's comments on Menon's original proposals confirmed his worst fears. The paragraph relating to the Defence Council in Menon's proposals ended with the sentence: 'This Council will cease to exist as soon as its work is completed'.<sup>41</sup> On Nehru's recommendation the sentence was made to read: 'This Council will cease to exist as soon as its work is completed or till other arrangements are made'.<sup>42</sup> Jinnah has underlined the addition on his copy of Nehru's letter.<sup>43</sup> Congress could use this seemingly innocuous amendment to wind up the Defence Council before the division of the Army had been completed. A Pakistan without its main peg, the army, sharing a common Governor-General with the rest of India, would be an easily collapsible tent. Indeed, the tent pegging might not have to take place at all if Congress was given complete charge of the existing interim government and the Indian army.

All Jinnah could do was to appear to go on the counter-attack, albeit without any ammunition. He had already threatened to extend the League's umbrella of protection to the Scheduled Castes of western Bengal by calling for a referendum to allow them to make a real choice. This had been denied on the convenient pretext of the time factor. So he now became the defender of the Indian States and their right to exercise free choice. He noted that the last two sentences of paragraph eighteen in the draft

announcement, giving the Indian States the choice to opt for either of the two constituent assemblies, had been deleted. This choice, Jinnah argued, was the 'logical outcome of the partition of British India'. If H M G. did not intend to reinsert these sentences, then the States and the League 'should not be left in doubt'. 'Vagueness in an important matter like this is likely to create confusion in the public mind'.<sup>44</sup> This was a scarcely veiled hint that he expected to enlarge Pakistan's territory by including at least some Indian States, Kashmir being the obvious case in point. In a last ditch attempt to place obstacles in the way of partitioning the Punjab and Bengal, Jinnah proposed that: 'No action should be taken regarding the Provincial administration till after the report of the Boundary Commission'.<sup>45</sup> By delaying the division of the provincial administrations until after the Boundary Commission's award, Jinnah hoped to be able to persuade the minorities in the Punjab and Bengal to come to terms with the League. To open the way for some such understanding, Jinnah publicly announced that all minorities in Pakistan would be 'protected and safeguarded'; they would be 'citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste, creed or sect'. As a further assurance to the minorities, Jinnah called for 'friendly and reciprocal' relations between the two states.<sup>46</sup> But in what was a clear effort to show that he did not consider the draft announcement as a final settlement, Jinnah demanded a 'corridor' through Hindustan connecting the two halves of Pakistan and, by the way, protecting the interests of the twenty-five million Muslims outside the territorial pale of the Muslim state.<sup>47</sup>

Although Mountbatten considered Jinnah's demand for a 'corridor' as pure 'blackmail', he realized that the 'greatest danger' now was that the League would continue to demand a full Pakistan 'as the inalienable right of Muslims'. It was 'doubtful whether...[Jinnah] could be brought to agree to accept any plan as a final settlement'.<sup>48</sup> Jinnah certainly would refuse to accept the draft announcement if H M G. conceded the Congress demand for an immediate transfer of power to the existing interim government. A transfer of power to the interim government was therefore, as even the Viceroy admitted, 'neither advisable nor practicable'.<sup>49</sup> Since Congress had been denied its



preferred alternative, namely an immediate transfer of power to the existing interim government, it settled for an immediate partition of India. But only on the condition that Jinnah accepted it as a final settlement and 'would not continue to make further claims in respect of Muslim populations in other parts of India'.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, partition would not be interpreted as a division of India between Pakistan and Hindustan; it would simply mean that certain areas with Muslim majorities were to be seen as 'splitting off' from the 'Union of India'.<sup>51</sup> This ensured that the League's share in the division of assets would be so meagre that its claim for equality of status with its more powerful rival could be laughed out of court. If the 'Union of India' could exist without the Muslim areas, there would be no dissolution of the existing unitary centre. This ended Jinnah's ultimate hopes of recreating the 'Union' on the basis of two sovereign states. London had initially rejected Congress's line that the 'Union of India' could exist if India was partitioned. But it had been urged by its Viceroy to accept it, or at least not to negate it openly. From the point of view of British imperatives this was a sensible *volte-face*. Congress was ready to keep the 'Union of India' inside the Commonwealth and accept Dominion Status instead of full independence. This would avoid the awkward problem of non-acceding Indian States and make the division of the Indian army less intractable. If there was a common Governor-General for both Dominions, the division of the Indian army could be delayed until after power had been transferred, a necessary precondition to prevent a complete breakdown of order. Congress's willingness to accept a common Governor-General was another reason why London swallowed its claim that the 'Union of India' existed and would continue to be so regarded after power had been transferred to two separate states. Since Jinnah was anxious to keep Pakistan inside the Commonwealth, Mountbatten believed that the League would eventually agree to share a common Governor-General with the rest of India.

Seen in the context of the 3 June plan to partition India, the Viceroy's view was a trifle optimistic. The plan presupposed an 'Union of India' and cast Pakistan in the role of the 'seceding' state. While the Hindu-

majority provinces had no choice but to remain within the 'Union', the Muslim provinces could decide either to stay in the 'Union' or to form a new Pakistan constituent assembly. If the Punjabi and Bengali Muslims had a last minute change of heart or if the North West Frontier Province, which was still under a Congress ministry, decided to cast its lot with the 'Union', the Pakistan constituent assembly might not be formed. But even if the Pakistan constituent assembly was formed it might conceivably have to be wound up if there were irreconcilable differences of opinion on the all-important question of how power was to be distributed between the centre and the provinces. The government of Pakistan's ultimate weapon, the army, would be under the command of the Joint Defence Council for an expected seven and a half months after power had been transferred. If on top of this Pakistan was to share a common Governor-General with the rest of India, its creation might well be a temporary measure. Congress's interpretation of partition implied that if Pakistan failed to survive, the Muslim areas would have to return to the Indian union severally, not help to recreate that union on the basis of two sovereign states. The partition plan had merely conceded the principle of Pakistan, it had not assured its creation or safeguarded its survival. So Jinnah had still to fight the battle for the actual creation and survival of Pakistan.

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The creation of Pakistan depended on the Muslim areas voting to form a new constituent assembly. Its survival rested on the League High Command's ability to keep the Muslim areas firmly inside the constituent assembly. To ensure the creation and the subsequent survival of Pakistan, Jinnah had somehow to keep the League inside the interim government until the actual transfer of power. This was the one arena which gave the League's High Command a semblance of authority over the Muslim areas prior to the creation of a Pakistan centre. Moreover, it was only by remaining inside the interim government that the League could prevent the Congress High Command from consolidating its position before Parliament had passed the legislation for a transfer of power to two Dominions. The League's continued

presence in the existing interim government would serve as a sharp reminder to the Congress High Command that, whatever the chances of partition, power could not be transferred to a single authority. Yet this was precisely why the Congress wanted an immediate reconstitution of the interim government without the League. Both Nehru and Patel threatened to resign if they were not given the right to administer their own areas. This was contrary to H.M.G.'s instructions to Mountbatten. Power had to be handed over simultaneously to both Dominions. All Mountbatten could do was to offer Congress an early date for the transfer of power. It would take six weeks (after 3 June) to see whether or not the Pakistan constituent assembly could be set up and another two weeks to secure Parliamentary legislation for the actual transfer of power. By simple arithmetic Mountbatten concluded that 15 August was the earliest possible date for a transfer of power. Beyond that date the interim government in any case would have fallen to pieces. His contention that 'the date [15 August] I chose came out of the blue' and that 'this ludicrously early date really put the cat among the canaries'<sup>52</sup> gives quite the wrong impression.

But the prospect of becoming master in their own house in a matter of weeks did not satisfy the Congress bosses. By 26 June it was clear that the Punjab and Bengal would have to be partitioned and that the Pakistan constituent assembly would at least consist of western Punjab, eastern Bengal and Sind. A Partition Council<sup>53</sup> and a special Arbitral Tribunal<sup>54</sup> had been created to assist in the partition process. In Congress's view these were sufficient safeguards for the areas 'opting out'. Whatever the decision of Baluchistan, the North West Frontier Province and Sylhet, Congress was ready to rid itself of the League and take charge of the central government without let or hindrance. After all, Congress had 'only agreed to partition in the belief that...[Mountbatten] would dismiss the Interim Government at the earliest possible date'.<sup>55</sup> When Jinnah got wind of this, he volunteered to withdraw the League's acceptance of the 3 June plan. On the horns of a dilemma, Mountbatten once again came up with an ingenious proposal. He would ask for the resignation of the interim government and then invite the leaders of

both parties to nominate nine members each to form two subcommittees of the 'cabinet'. Since the partition process had not been completed and administratively India was still a single entity, each member would hold two portfolios. In principle, the Congress members would confine their activities only to their own areas, but would have effective charge of all the portfolios and would have to sign all the orders. The League members holding corresponding portfolios would have the right to see all the papers related to their departments but could refer to the full 'cabinet' (and in case of disagreement to the Viceroy for his decision) only on matters which 'solely or predominantly affect[ed] Pakistan'.<sup>56</sup> In other words, the League members would be ministers without portfolios within the existing secretariats of British India. All the central subjects would be in the hands of the Congress members who could always claim that a particular matter did not concern Pakistan. Naturally, Jinnah considered this arrangement as 'humiliating' and 'prejudicial'<sup>57</sup> to the League whose members would be 'watchdogs'<sup>58</sup> or 'ornamental pieces in the constitutional parlour' reduced to 'the undignified and invidious role of spies on behalf of Pakistan'.<sup>59</sup> The entire proposal was grounded on 'the wholly unwarranted assumption that Pakistan would be an area seceding from the Indian State'; the state would, in Jinnah's opinion, be 'split up, by a fiat of the British Parliament, into two wholly new States none of which could by itself...[be] identified with the existing Indian State'. So the 'Union of India' 'could not justifiably be described as a successor state vis-à-vis the present Indian Government'. The Viceroy's proposal would enable the Congress members to 'entrench themselves in possession of the machinery and assets in favour of the Pakistan Government, after the date of the creation of the two Dominions, on the principle of "what we have, we keep"'.<sup>60</sup> At any rate, Jinnah argued, the proposal was unconstitutional. Under the ninth schedule of the 1935 Act there could be no 'cabinet', only the Viceroy's executive council, and a member's right 'to dissent on any matter... cannot be arbitrarily curtailed'.<sup>61</sup> When London was consulted, the verdict was in Jinnah's favour. To neutralize the force of Jinnah's argument, a special clause was introduced in the India Bill.<sup>62</sup> This gave

the Viceroy authority to reconstitute the interim government before the 15th of August.

Jinnah had anticipated a provision along these lines. His apparent dithering on the issue of a common Governor-General was a consequence of his resolve to prevent a reconstitution of the interim government before the actual transfer of power. If he asked Mountbatten to become Pakistan's Governor-General, he could hardly oppose the reconstitution of the interim government. It could have been argued that the League's acceptance of a common Governor-General was a sufficient safeguard for Pakistan. But even without a reconstitution of the interim government, Jinnah was not at all convinced that Mountbatten as the common Governor-General would be able to stop Congress having its way once power was transferred. What Jinnah wanted was a supreme arbitrator, a representative of the Crown, who could assist both Dominions in resolving their disputes in the division of assets. In the event of a complete stalemate, the supreme arbitrator would have powers to force a compromise on the two Dominions. Mountbatten was sceptical about the proposal since a Dominion Governor-General could not be expected to take orders from an arbitrator. Once Congress had formally invited him to remain as Governor-General for its areas, Mountbatten

brushed aside Jinnah's proposal. He simply advised London to make a special provision in the Indian Independence Bill allowing him to act as Governor-General for both Dominions. Dominion Status implied that Mountbatten would be no more than a constitutional Governor-General acting on the advice of his government (or governments). It was not clear how he proposed to function as a common Governor-General if he received conflicting advice from the two Dominions. There was no precedent for a common Governor-General in the British Commonwealth. Understandably, Jinnah was suspicious of the powers which a common Governor-General would have, especially when it came to overriding the advice of one of the Dominions. A stickler for constitutional principles, Jinnah asked to see the Indian Independence Bill before giving the League's final decision.

The Indian Independence Bill had been drafted on the assumption that both Dominions would invite Mountbatten to continue as Governor-General. Consequently the Governor-General's powers were far greater than those normally conferred upon a Dominion Governor-General. To facilitate his role as conciliator it was not prescribed that the Governor-General would have to act on the advice of the Dominion government (or governments). It was convenient that the constitutions of other Dominions did not actually specify that the Governor-General had to act on the advice of his cabinet. Although this aspect of the Governor-General's powers was crucial in the Indian situation there was good precedence for ambiguity. But deliberate omission was not always the best rule of thumb. There were innumerable difficulties involved in partitioning India: unscrambling the existing unitary services, assets and liabilities of the central government, reallocating them to the two Dominions quickly, and at the same time providing for the day-to-day administration of these common services until a reallocation had taken place. Some executive authority, accepted as impartial by both sides, had to take the initial decisions to divide the provinces and the central subjects. This authority could only be that of a Governor-General. So the Governor-General had to be given special powers to implement the decisions of the Arbitral Tribunal and other committees specially created to assist in the



*Inspecting the guard of honour at the Governor-General's house*



partition process. These powers, however, were limited to a period of six months after power had been transferred. Since the position of a common Governor-General was intended only as an interim measure, either Dominion could decide to wind up the office.<sup>63</sup> Alternatively, the constituent assembly of a Dominion could prevent the Governor-General from exercising his powers if he tried to impose an unacceptable decision. In disputes between two Dominions, one in actual possession of the assets and the other merely claiming its share, all that a common Governor-General could hope to achieve was a settlement which was acceptable to both. Mountbatten's insistence that he could not act as an arbitrator, but would happily guide and advise, was an accurate assessment of his ability to influence Congress once power had been transferred.

It is hardly surprising that Jinnah saw no merit in sharing a common Governor-General with the rest of India. The Indian Independence Bill recognized the Congress areas as inheriting the international personality of the existing central government of India. The Congress could always maintain that by 'seceding' from the 'Union' the Pakistan areas had forfeited their share of the central government's assets. If Congress did adopt this line, the government of Pakistan would look to the common Governor-General in vain. This is why Jinnah wanted the India Bill to specify that in matters concerning both Dominions the Governor-General would not act on the advice of his ministers.<sup>64</sup> This was rejected by the Congress on the grounds that all disputes between the two Dominions could be resolved through arbitration.<sup>65</sup> Mountbatten had already hinted that if there were two Governors-General, they might form an arbitration board to supervise the partition process.<sup>66</sup> The India Bill also indicated that if there were separate Governors-General, matters related to both Dominions could be resolved by the two 'acting jointly'.<sup>67</sup> This clinched the issue for Jinnah. Since his proposal for a supreme arbitrator had been rejected, Jinnah opted for a separate Governor-General, who could at least meet his counterpart on an equal footing to resolve the disputes between the two Dominions.

But quite another consideration persuaded Jinnah that he alone could serve as Pakistan's first Governor-General. Jinnah's studied silence on the issue of a common Governor-General had produced some uncovenanted advantages for Pakistan's central government. If the Bill had been drafted on the assumption that there would be separate Governors-General, its form arguably would have been different. For one thing, it is unlikely that the Governor-General would have been vested with such wide-ranging powers in matters to do with his own Dominion. Ironically enough, Congress imperatives unwittingly gave Jinnah an opportunity to consolidate the government of Pakistan's hold over its provinces. Congress had insisted that the India Bill should provide for a strong central government and not place the whole central structure into the hands of the constituent assembly; this, it feared, might lead to complete chaos in constitution making.<sup>68</sup> The Bill therefore stated that until the constituent assembly of either Dominion decided otherwise, each Dominion would be 'governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935' subject to any omissions and adaptations made by the Governor-General.<sup>69</sup> Under clause 9(1) of the Bill the Governor-General virtually had a free hand in dealing with all the institutions (including the judiciary) of his Dominion, and unless and until the constituent assembly was in a position to check him, he would have very near dictatorial powers.<sup>70</sup> The 'Union of India' had a constituent assembly which could curb the powers of the Governor-General. In Pakistan's case, however, the constituent assembly had not been established. The Bill had made no specific provision for it to be established before 15 August, just in case power had to be transferred to a single authority. But equally this omission could be turned to the League's advantage. If the Muslim areas failed to form a constituent assembly, Pakistan's Governor-General could appoint a compliant executive, adapt the 1935 Act to suit the requirements of his central government and clamp down on any provincial dissidents.

Jinnah was quick to spot this unexpected bonus. He knew better than anyone else that the greatest threat to Pakistan's survival would be internal, not external. Lacking a real political party organization, he needed



a strong Pakistan centre to discipline the particularisms of the Muslim-majority provinces. The situation in the North West Frontier Province underlined the immediate danger which Pakistan's central government would face soon after power had been transferred. The province was still under a Congress ministry. To wean away the League's supporters, the local Congressmen had raised the slogan of an independent 'Pathanistan'. They threatened to boycott the referendum if the Pathans were not given the choice to remain independent before deciding to opt for either Pakistan or the 'Union of India'. The Congress High Command leaders willingly advocated this line at the centre. This was turning the logic of the 3 June plan on its head. But Mountbatten was ready to concede the option to the Pathans if both High Commands agreed.<sup>1</sup> Jinnah obviously could not agree to this; a separate constituent assembly for the Pathans would place the province in a strong bargaining position with Pakistan. If 'Pathanistan' could not be induced to join Pakistan it could always make terms with the 'Union of India'. As even Mountbatten admitted: 'the fact that the Western Punjab would be between the N.W.F.P. and the rest of Hindustan in no way made it impossible for the N.W.F.P. to join Hindustan'. After all a 'similar situation prevailed between Western and Eastern Pakistan'.<sup>2</sup> More alarming than the Viceroy's suggestion from Jinnah's point of view was the willingness of some League leaders in the province to consider a coalition ministry with the Frontier Congress on the basis of an 'independent Pathanistan'.<sup>3</sup> According to the Governor: 'too many advocates of Pathanistan are sincere and some of Jinnah's local supporters are not without sympathy for this idea'.<sup>4</sup> This suggests just how precarious Jinnah's hold over the Frontier Province was and how crucial it would be for the government of Pakistan to stamp out quickly the 'Pathanistan' issue. As the Governor-General, Jinnah could easily adapt the 1935 Act relating to the province's legislature, abolish the large weightage given to the minorities, and ensure the League's majority for once, albeit not for always. But Jinnah had problems in other provinces as well. Imposing a single Pakistan centre over the western and eastern wings without fanning provincial sentiments in either was not a task which could be

accomplished by mere references to Muslim solidarity. With many Pathans preferring to go their own way, Baluchistan under the authority of tribal leaders who had never buckled under any central control, and the 'Sindhis car[ring] little about the Punjab and nothing at all about Bengal',<sup>5</sup> Jinnah and the League High Command's ability to pull the distant Bengalis firmly under a Pakistan centre was anything but certain. As for the Punjab, the corner-stone of Pakistan, the local League was already divided and seemed destined to remain so. Without the Governor-General's special powers, the newly created Pakistan centre could not expect to exercise its authority over its divided constituents. The banked but burning fires of provincialism were likely to erupt as the Punjabis, Bengalis, Sindhis, Baluchis and the migrants from other parts of India scrambled for power and position in the new state. So long as the Pakistan army remained under the control of the Joint Defence Council, Jinnah's only chance of pulling his notoriously wayward followers under a single central authority was to act as a one man domestic fire-brigade. As the Governor-General of Pakistan, Jinnah could have the reality of power which had always eluded him as the President of the All-India Muslim League.

On 2 July, Jinnah finally informed Mountbatten of his intention to become Pakistan's first Governor-General. Mountbatten of course pretended to be outraged. But even he could not have denied that Jinnah had played a poor hand of cards superbly. His powers of persuasion slipping, Mountbatten resorted to blackmail: as Prime Minister Jinnah could 'really run Pakistan'; rejecting a common Governor-General 'may well cost you the whole of your assets and the future of Pakistan'.<sup>6</sup> Jinnah had already seen how uncertain Pakistan's present, let alone its future, would be if he allowed anyone other than himself to exercise the powers outlined for the Governor-General in the India Bill. So he told a bemused Viceroy: 'In my position it is I who will give the advice and others will act on it'.<sup>7</sup> If partition was the price Congress could pay for a strong central government, then Jinnah was prepared to risk losing crores of rupees' worth of assets to buy central powers for the government of Pakistan. Yet Jinnah had not thrown in the towel. There was no question of giving Congress

a free run in the division of assets. Jinnah wanted Mountbatten to remain as Governor-General for the Congress areas and accept responsibility for the division of the main asset, the Indian army, by becoming the chairman of the Joint Defence Council. Jinnah confessed that 'unless there is a steady influence he was afraid of what the Congress might do to Pakistan'.<sup>78</sup>

Jinnah's decision produced immediate results. Mountbatten was now reluctant to reconstitute the interim government since he might be 'publicly denounced as favouring... [his] own Government'.<sup>79</sup> It was only after all the Muslim areas had opted for a new constituent assembly and Parliament had passed the Indian Independence Bill that Mountbatten reconstituted the interim government. By preventing Congress from taking full control of the central government before Parliament had authorized a transfer of power to two Dominions, Jinnah had won an important battle. But that he realized that bigger battles still had to be fought was revealed at the very first meeting of the Pakistan cabinet with Mountbatten. Despite Mountbatten's opposition, the government of Pakistan wanted its Governor-General to have the power to order a provincial Governor to dismiss his ministry and take over the administration. This was Section 93 with a vengeance. That it was intended as a means of ousting the Congress ministry in the North West Frontier Province was obvious and that it was actually put into effect is well known. Since the Indian army could not be divided until 31 March 1948, seven and a half months after power had been transferred, the government of Pakistan might not have survived the storms of partition if not for the powers which Jinnah exercised as its Governor-General to contain a fluid sovereignty. But that he intended such concentration of power in the hands of a single individual as a temporary measure and not as a norm for the future is suggested by the fact that Jinnah was also the man who gave Pakistan its first constituent assembly.

1. Various explanations have been put forward to argue for and against Jinnah's decision. On the British side it has been argued that Jinnah's decision was an act of supreme egoism which dealt a vital blow to Pakistan's interests in the division of assets and made it difficult for the two Dominions to co-operate on matters of common concern. The Pakistanis retort that it was Mountbatten whose vanity was hurt and his partiality towards the Congress would have tilted the balance of advantage against Pakistan. [See Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten* (2nd edn, Connecticut, 1972), p. 127; S. Hashim Raza(ed.), *Mountbatten and Pakistan* (Karachi, 1982), and S. M. Burke, 'Quaid-i-Azam's Decision to Become Pakistan's First Governor-General: Its Pro's and Cons', paper presented at the Quaid-i-Azam Centenary Congress, Islamabad, 1976]. A debate at this level does little for a dispassionate understanding of an issue which appears to have been crucial to Pakistan's survival as a separate state.
2. For a detailed account of Jinnah's strategy see my book, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge, 1985).
3. Jinnah's hope seems to have been that the principle of 'Pakistan' would be conceded before he had to deal with the question of non-Muslim minorities in these two provinces. It followed that he needed a settlement based on 'Pakistan' at the centre before his followers in the Muslim provinces were allowed to settle terms with the non-Muslim populations.
4. The Cabinet Mission's proposed three-tier system was intended as a compromise between Jinnah's full sovereign Pakistan and Congress's demand for a 'strong and organic' centre. At the top there was to be the union of all-India which would control three common subjects: defence, foreign affairs and communications. Three groups of provinces, namely the Hindu majority-provinces, the Muslim provinces of the north-west and Bengal and Assam in the north-east, would form the middle tier and have their own separate legislatures. Below them all would be the provinces and States or groups of States which agreed to join one of the three sub-federations. See Cabinet Mission's statement, 16 May 1946, in N. Mansergh and P. Moon (eds), *The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol VII (London, 1977), pp. 582-91 (henceforth *TP* followed by volume number; all references are to page numbers).
5. See Congress Working Committee's resolution, 8 March 1947, *TP*, IX, 899-900.
6. As for the Indian States, if they failed to join the 'union' by June 1948, the centre would automatically slap its authority over them in matters to do with foreign affairs, defence and communications.
7. See note on proposals handed to the Secretary of State by Sudhir Ghosh, annex II to document 524, *ibid.*, pp. 923-4.
8. According to conservative military estimates it would take as long as five years for a complete Indianization of the Indian army. If this process was to be completed by June 1948 and the British were also expected to carve out an army for Pakistan it would have been impossible to meet the deadline for a transfer of power. Moreover, an unified army under effective control seemed the best insurance against a complete breakdown of order before a transfer of power.

4. Record of Mountbatten's interview with Jinnah, 10 April 1947, *TP*, X, 186-7.
5. Record of Mountbatten's interview with Jinnah, 7 April 1947, *ibid.*, p. 149.
6. Viceroy's report no. 4, 24 April 1947, *ibid.*, p. 407.
7. Mountbatten's interview with Patel, 25 April 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 424-6.
8. See Viceroy's sixth miscellaneous meeting, 22 April 1947, *ibid.*, p. 364.
9. See minutes of the Viceroy's seventh miscellaneous meeting, 23 April 1947, *ibid.*, p. 381.
10. Viceroy's report no. 5, 1 May 1947, *ibid.*, p. 540.
11. Viceroy's ninth miscellaneous meeting, 1 May 1947, *ibid.*, p. 511.
12. See Nehru's plan, 8 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 673-4.
13. Minutes of the Viceroy's twenty-seventh meeting, 7 May 1947, *ibid.*, p. 659.
14. Mountbatten to Ismay, 8 May 1947, *ibid.*, p. 699.
15. Mountbatten to Ismay, no. 54-SC, 11 May 1947, L/PO/428, I.O.L.
16. Ismay to Mountbatten, 9 May 1947, *TP*, X, 722.
17. Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, p. 87.
18. Ismay to Mountbatten, telegram, no. 6142, 12 May 1947, L. PO/428, I.O.L.
19. *Ibid.*
20. See revised draft plan, *TP*, X, 723-8.
21. Mountbatten to Ismay, 11 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 776-7.
22. Nehru to Mountbatten, 11 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 756-7.
23. Mountbatten to Ismay, 11 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 779-80.
24. Viceroy's eighteenth staff meeting, 21 April 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 348-9.
25. Jinnah had told Mountbatten that he feared that some Congress leaders were planning to 'seize power by a coup d'état' in which 'he [Jinnah] and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan would be the first to be taken prisoner'. (See minutes of the Viceroy's seventh miscellaneous meeting, 23 April 1947, *ibid.*, p. 381.) Patel was publicly calling for an immediate transfer of power to the interim government on the basis of Dominion Status. In this way 'the central Government would form a strong centre and would have the necessary powers to put down disorder'. (See Patel's statement to the Associated Press of America, 9 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 716-17.)
26. Viceroy's eighteenth staff meeting, 21 April 1947, *ibid.*, p. 349.
27. Secretary of State's memorandum, 17 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 876-7.
28. See the Muslim League's comments on the draft announcement, 17 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 852-3.
29. See document no. 466, *ibid.*, pp. 861-2.
30. Mountbatten's interview with Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, 17 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 872-3.
31. Jinnah to Mountbatten (via Sir Eric Merville), 19 May 1947, Quid-i-Azam Papers (QAP) File no. 22, pp. 64-6.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
34. See Nehru's comments in V.C.P. 50, 16 May 1947, document no. 464, *TP*, X, 857(j) and the revised draft announcement in document 476, *ibid.*, p. 887, paragraph nineteen.
35. See Nehru to Brockman, 19 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 892-3.
36. See document no. 466, *ibid.*, p. 861, paragraph five.
37. See Nehru's comments on the transfer of power proposals, 17 May 1947, *ibid.*, p. 869.
38. See QAP/ File no. 22, p. 163.
39. Jinnah to Merville, 20 May 1947, *ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. Jinnah was still offering the olive branch to the Congress. 'I envisage an alliance, pact or treaty between Pakistan and Hindustan in the mutual interest of both and against any aggressive outsider'. (See Jinnah's remarks on Pakistan, 21 May 1947, *TP*, X, 929-30.)
42. *Ibid.*
43. See India and Burma Committee meeting, i B (47)27 meeting, 22 May 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 953-4.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Record of Henderson's conversation with Krishna Menon, 23 May 1947, *ibid.*, p. 962.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Mountbatten and the Partition of India: 22 March-15 August 1947* (New Delhi, 1982), p. 49.
48. The Partition Council consisted of two top ranking leaders each from the Congress and the League with Mountbatten acting as chairman without arbitral functions.
49. The Arbitral Tribunal consisted of three members, all of whom had judicial experience and were selected by the Partition Committee (the precursor to the Partition Council). The services of the Arbitral Tribunal were available to the provinces which were to be partitioned.
50. Mountbatten to Listowel, 27 June 1947, *TP*, XI, 709.
51. See meeting of the Partition Council, 27 June 1947, *ibid.*, 676.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. See Jinnah's memorandum on the Viceroy's proposal for the reconstitution of the interim government, 29 June 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 751 and 753.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 752-3.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 752.
57. See Indian Independence Bill, section 9(c), *ibid.*, p. 788.
58. See the Indian Independence Bill, section 9(1) and 9(5), *ibid.*, pp. 787-9.
59. See Muslim League's comments on the Indian Independence Bill, 3 July 1947, *ibid.*, p. 800.
60. Nehru to Mountbatten, 4 July 1947, *ibid.*, p. 888.
61. Mountbatten's interview with Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, 17 May 1947, *TP*, X, 873.
62. Indian Independence Bill, section 19(c), *TP*, XI, 792.
63. Croft to Turnbull, 7 July 1947, *ibid.*, p. 955.
64. Indian Independence Bill, section 8(2), p. 780.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 787-8.
66. Mountbatten's press conference, 4 June 1947, *ibid.*, p. 151, fn. 2.
67. Mountbatten's interview with Dr Khan Sahib, 5 June 1947, *ibid.*, p. 150.
68. Caroe to Mountbatten, 4 June 1947, *ibid.*, p. 126.
69. Caroe to Mountbatten, 5 June 1947, *ibid.*, p. 132.
70. Mudie to Mountbatten, 7 June 1947, *ibid.*, p. 144.
71. Viceroy's report no. 11, 4 July 1947, *ibid.*, pp. 898-900.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 899.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 900.
74. Viceroy's report no. 13, 18 July 1947, R/3/1 150, I.O.L.

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# Constitutional Set-up of Pakistan as Visualised by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

S. SHARIFUDDIN PIRZADA

Mohammad Ali Jinnah had the charisma of Churchill, dignity of de Gaulle, greatness of Gandhi and magnetism of Mandela. Stanley Wolpert, in the preface of *Jinnah of Pakistan*, has aptly observed 'Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Jinnah did all three'. Betty Miller Unterberg, in her paper on the occasion of Jinnah centenary remarked

Although aware of the enormous problems facing both Jinnah and Pakistan, American newspapers and periodicals, as well as key American officials, agreed that Jinnah had proved himself a great statesman not only of Asia but also of the world

David Page, author of *Prelude to Partition* in a seminar said

In discussions of Mr Jinnah's political career, historians have often referred to two Mr Jinnahs the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity and the Father of Pakistan. In attempting to understand Mr Jinnah's conception of his role as a Muslim leader in







the ten years before partition, it may be valuable to make a comparison between Mr Jinnah and the well-known European leader, General de Gaulle. Like Mr Jinnah, de Gaulle came to represent the French people in a quite unique way, and to represent for them the virtues of political courage and independence which they could not help admiring, even those of them who disagreed with de Gaulle politically and disliked him personally. De Gaulle came to be able to say: 'La France c'est moi' in rather the same way that Mr Jinnah came to represent the aspirations of the Indian Muslims for a separate homeland of their own

### Mr Jinnah and the Parliamentary System

In an speech at the reception given by Anjuman-e-Islamia, Simla on 13 August 1938, Mr Jinnah said:

Can democratic parliamentary Government succeed in India? Is it suited to the conditions of the country? It is not the democratic majority that has formed the government in the seven provinces; it is the permanent Hindu majority which cannot be altered by any change whatsoever and hence it is a travesty of the system which may be worthwhile in England

Addressing the students of Muslim University of Aligarh on 6 March 1940 Quaid-i-Azam stated: 'Two years ago at Simla I said that the democratic parliamentary system of government was unsuited to India. I was condemned everywhere in the Congress press'.

Addressing the Ismail Yousuf College, Bombay on 1 February 1943, Mr Jinnah declared that he did not want parliamentary democracy, nor any autocratic or despotic form of government. He wanted a peoples' government, true democracy according to Islam.

Mr Jinnah reaffirmed the same in his presidential address to the Delhi session of All-India Muslim League in April 1943.

### Mr Jinnah as Governor-General

The Plan of 3 June 1947, envisaged the establishment of two dominions, India and Pakistan. This was reflected in the Indian Independence Act. Question

arose about the Governor-Generalship of the dominions. Mountbatten proposed the idea of common Governor-General for the two dominions. Mr Jinnah opined that each dominion must have its own Governor-General. Mountbatten was furious and threatened that in case of refusal there would be serious consequences. Mr Jinnah remained calm and replied: 'It is a rule of my life that I must always consider the interests of my people. At various time in my life, I have had to pass over those nearest and dearest to me. But I have my duty to do'.

Mountbatten in his personal report No. 11 of 4 July 1947 stated that when he pointed out to Mr Jinnah if he went as a constitutional Governor-General his powers would be restricted but as prime minister he really could run Pakistan, he made no bones about the fact that his prime minister would do what he said. 'In my position it is I who will give the advice and others will act on it'.

### Council of the Muslim League

The Council of the All-Indian Muslim League held its meeting on 9 and 10 June 1947 at Delhi and accepted the 3 June 1947 Plan as a compromise and empowered Quaid-i-Azam with full authority to take all steps and decisions, which may be necessary. Mr Jinnah said: 'I have done my job: When Field Marshal leads its Army into victory, it is for the civil authority to take over'. At this point Maulana Hasrat Mohani rose and said in a loud voice, 'This is not possible. We reject your decision'. When the auditorium, which had begun to ring with slogans supporting Mohani's 'rejection', was quiet, the Quaid addressed the veteran leader directly and asked him who, in his view, should be the first Governor-General of Pakistan. Mohani greeted the question with a smile, then said emotionally, 'Pakistan's Governor-General can only be a man who has won Pakistan for the Muslim, and the Muslim League Council can never be prepared to name anyone other than Mohammad Ali Jinnah'. This created a commotion in the auditorium and people began to chant the slogan 'Quaid-i-Azam zindabad'. The first reaction to Quaid-i-Azam's nomination came from Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, who said-



*Jinnah presiding over the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee at Simla*

There can be no two opinions as to who the leader of the hundred million Muslims should be. It should be someone who has the complete trust of the people, and the Quaid-i-Azam is the only person who enjoys that trust. He is not only Pakistan's founder and a man who can be entrusted with the responsibility of governor [of] Pakistan, but we are confident that all is going to be right now

### **Comments about Powers of the Governor-General**

The Round Table wrote:

Mr Jinnah said at the meeting of the Council of the League on June 9 when the plan was accepted, that he had 'done his job'. It is not surprising that they refused to part readily with one who, though aging and lately ill, surpasses them and, possibly everybody else in India, in practical political intelligence. From their point of view his recommendation as Governor-General of Pakistan may be readily understood

Mushtaq Ahmed, favourite student of Herald Laski, examined tenure of the Quaid as Governor-General in great detail and concluded:

Mr Jinnah formed the Cabinet and presided over its meetings, held press conferences, briefed foreign correspondents individually and collectively, addressed a large number of public meetings from Peshawar to Chittagong, issued orders and promulgated ordinances, took vital decisions on matters of public policy. For all practical purposes, it was a Presidential Cabinet over which he presided and not a parliamentary executive which was impossible to improvise under the critical conditions the country had to face at its nascent stage. For the exercise of these extraordinary powers, the Quaid had both constitutional sanction during the transition period and a popular mandate. It was not a guided or controlled democracy but it was a government by consent of the people as well as the parliament, who considered his stewardship indispensable in the hour of crisis.

## Quaid's Views about Constitutional Set-up

Quaid-i-Azam repeatedly emphasized that it is for the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to frame the constitution. However, views expressed by him may be stated in brief:

- i. On 8 November 1945, Quaid-i-Azam gave an interview to representative of the Associated Press of America: 'Pakistan's theory', he said:

guarantees that federated units of the national government would have all the autonomy that you will find in the constitutions of the United States of America, Canada and Australia

An opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power

- ii. On 21 May 1947, in an interview to Reuters correspondent, Doon Campbell, Quaid said.

the government of Pakistan can only be popular representative and democratic form of government. Its parliament and cabinet responsible to the parliament will both be finally responsible to the electorate and the people in general without any distinction of

caste, creed or sect, who will be the final deciding factor with regard to the policy and programme of the government that may be adopted from time to time.

- iii. Addressing the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11 August 1947, Quaid-i-Azam said:

You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques, or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has a nothing to do with the business of the state. We are starting with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state

- iv. In the special interview to Mr Weldon James of the Collins weekly magazine, on 25 August 1947, Quaid-i-Azam said: 'We expect to evolve a progressive democratic government, in line with the Muslim belief in the equality of all men and to work for international peace'.

- v. In his broadcast to the people of Australia and America in February 1948, Quaid said 'Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state'

- vi. In March 1948, he declared that in Pakistan, it will be peoples' government.

- vii. On 26 March 1948, addressing the public reception at Chittagong, Quaid said.

Pakistan should be based on sure foundation of social justice and Islamic socialism, which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of men. We fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of human rights.

- viii. In a Radio broadcast on 28 March 1948, Quaid said: 'In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity, women have a most valuable part to play'.

- ix. On 15 June 1948 at Quetta, Quaid said.

Representative governments and representative institutions are no doubt good and desirable, but when people want to reduce them merely to channels of personal aggrandizement, they not only lose their value but earn a bad name.





## The Quaid's Note

The note below is in the hand-writing of Quaid-i-Azam and is in File 42 of 1947. It was unsealed by President Ziaul Haq, who made some copies thereof and gave one copy to the Author. The original is in Jinnah Papers, Islamabad.

The note was jotted down by Mr Jinnah on or about 16 July 1947. The note clearly states that in the future constitution of Pakistan regarding form of the government, instead of parliamentary form of government there would be presidential form of government. It was not specified which presidential form. However, the manner in which the government functioned from 15 August 1947 to 11 September 1948 it seems it was more on the pattern of the French system.

It seems, Quaid-i-Azam was impressed by the speech delivered by Charles de Gaulle took two months to write, twenty-seven minutes to deliver, twelve years to think over and ten years to put into practice, is undoubtedly historic. The constitutional prescription prescribed therein is as follows:

It is from the head of State, placed above the parties, elected by a college including the parliament, but much wider and made up in such a way as to make him the President of the French Union as well as of the Republic, that the executive power must proceed. It is the task of the head of State to reconcile the general interest, of where appointments are concerned, with the direction that emerges from the parliament. It will be his job to appoint ministers and, first of all, of course, the prime minister. It is the job of the head of State to promulgate laws and issue decrees. He

1. The Congress have accepted the present Settlement, with Mental reservations
  2. They now proclaim their determination to break the unity of India as soon as possible
  3. With that determination they will naturally be regarded as avowed enemies of Pakistan state working for its overthrow
- Future Constitution of Pakistan

Dangers of Parliamentary form of Govt.  
 It has worked satisfactorily so far in England & where else

1. Parliamentary form of Govt.
2. Presidential form of Govt.  
 (more suitable to Pakistan)

9 The state exists (as has been said by Aristotle) not for life only but for good life

presides over the Councils of the Government. He serves as an arbiter above political contingencies. It is his duty, if the nation is in danger, to guarantee national independence.

The speech led to the enactment of the constitution of the Fifth French Republic in 1958. When the draft Constitution of 1958 was submitted for approval of the people on 28 September 1958, de Gaulle stated:

The draft constitution has been drawn up for the people that we are, in the century and the world in which we live, so that the country may be effectively led by those whom it mandates and accord them the confidence inspired by legitimacy. That there may exist, above political struggles, a national arbiter, elected by citizens holding a public mandate, entrusted with the task of ensuring the proper functioning of institutions, having the right to resort to the judgment of the sovereign people, responding, in cases of extreme danger, to the independence, honour, integrity of France and of the salvation of the Republic. That there should exist a government made to govern, given the time and ability to do so, which will not be diverted from its task by anything else and which, therefore, will merit the support of the country. That there should exist a parliament destined to represent the political will of the nation, to pass laws, to supervise the executive, without claiming to exceed its proper role. That government and parliament should collaborate, but remain separate as far as their responsibilities are concerned and that no member of one may, at the same time, be a member of the other. Such is that balanced structure that power must assume. The rest will depend upon people.

The commentators on the French Constitution describe it as semi-presidential system. From de Gaulle to Sarkozy, the president and the premier, having parliamentary support, perform their respective functions by co-existence (as the French call it cohabitation). The French Constitution has been adopted as a form of government in Sri Lanka and South Africa with some modifications. Of course, the Constitution of 1958 was not and could not be before Mr Jinnah but it was Bayeux speech which was very much in Mr Jinnah's mind.

The position becomes clear from the following extract of the meeting of the Cabinet of Pakistan on 30 December 1947:

The Hon'ble the Prime Minister said that he had discussed with the Quaid-i-Azam the latter's position as head of the State. He had also had talks on this subject with some of his colleagues. The Quaid-i-Azam had told him that he was a constitutional Governor-General and was quite willing to remain as such if the Cabinet so wished. When the Quaid-i-Azam became Governor-General, however, none of the Members of the Cabinet desired that he should act only as a constitutional Governor-General because Pakistan stood in need of his guidance. His colleagues and he felt that the Quaid-i-Azam should act not only as Governor-General of Pakistan, but as the head of the State in the real sense of the term. They were all agreed that the Quaid-i-Azam's presence was the greatest factor making for stability and progress of the State. It was proposed, therefore, that by convention no question of policy or principle should be determined and decided except at a meeting of the Cabinet to be presided over by the Quaid-i-Azam. He used the designation the Quaid-i-Azam advisedly in this context because it was in that capacity and not in his role as Governor-General that the Cabinet accepted his lead. It was further proposed that in the event of any difference of opinion between the Cabinet and the Quaid-i-Azam latter's decision should be final. He should be entitled to ask for information on any subject from the Secretary-General or from the Secretary of any Minister. No decision would, of course, be taken on such information, except in consultation with the Minister concerned and, if necessary, the Cabinet. He suggested that this convention should remain in force during the Quaid-i-Azam's life-time or until the new constitution of Pakistan was framed and put into effect, whichever was earlier.

After expression of views by the various ministers, the Cabinet unanimously adopted the convention on the lines mentioned above.

## Pakistan

So far as Pakistan is concerned, in 1962, President Ayub gave the constitution of the presidential type. By 1969, it failed miserably. The reason was that the Constitution was of the President, by the President and for the President.

When Mr Z. A. Bhutto came into power in 1972, the interim constitution promulgated was of presidential

pattern. However, in view of the accord with the political parties, 1973 Constitution was of parliamentary pattern.

In *Mahmood Khan Achakzai & ors vs. Federation of Pakistan & ors*. PLD 1997 S.C. 426 (500-501) Justice Saleem Akhtar, on the basis of material produced before him, observed:

In January 1976, the Prime Minister told Wolf-Phillips that he had made up his mind about converting the present system into a Presidential system. However, he expected that this would be brought about after the election. It may be noted that there was some speculation in Pakistan during the National Assembly Election of 1977 that Bhutto was eager to win these elections by a landslide because he wanted a two-third majority in the Assembly for the purpose of amending the Constitution along Presidential lines. Similar view has been expressed by Stanley Wolpert in his book 'Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan—His Life and Times' and Mr Altaf Gauhar in his Article 'Bhutto and parliamentary democracy' published in the 'Nation' dated 6-12-1996.

Unfortunately, the elections that were held in 1977 were rigged which led to the military take over which lasted till 1988. The developments from 1988 onward are well-known and need not be recalled. The Eighth Amendment and the Seventeenth Amendment are likely to be repealed.

Suffice it to say that it is for the parliament, the political parties and the people of Pakistan to decide about the appropriate amendments to be made in the Constitution of Pakistan, having regard to all the circumstances and events which have taken place and in the light of the views expressed by the Founder of the Nation, the Quaid-i-Azam.

# Jinnah on Civil Liberties

A.G. NOORANI

When Mohammad Ali Jinnah applied to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn in London, on 25 April 1893, A.V. Dicey's book *An Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*, first published in 1885, had run into its fourth edition. To this day, it inspires students of, and jurists on, constitutional law. Jinnah read avidly; having acquired, on 9 January 1895, a reading ticket to the Reading Room in the British Museum. Over two decades later he said 'I have drunk deep at the fountain of constitutional law.'



Protection of civil liberties formed an integral part of British constitutional law. Dicey had whole chapters on 'the rule of law', 'the right to personal freedom', 'the right to freedom of discussion', and 'the right of public meeting'. When he returned to India and applied on 18 August 1896 for enrolment as an advocate of the Bombay High Court, Jinnah was struck by the glaring contrast between British precepts and the practice in India. For the rest of his life, he spoke up to denounce violations of civil liberties, to expose the flaws in the legislation proposed by the



British rulers and to urge fellow citizens always to stand by the rule of law.

Jinnah's career as a lawyer and as a politician has been the subject of many a volume. His considerable contribution to the cause of civil liberties awaits a definitive study. He became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1910 and was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly at the time of India's independence and the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. While most of Jinnah's contribution is recorded in the official reports of proceedings of the legislatures, the newspapers of the day carried extensive reports of his speeches on public platforms. It is a brilliant record spread over 35 years. In his first major speech in the council on 25 February 1910 Jinnah censured the 'harsh and cruel treatment that is meted out to Indians in South Africa'.

Before long he was attacking the government for imprisoning political opponents without trial or internment. Two prominent cases stand out, the internments of Annie Besant and Maulanas Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali. It is a measure of the stature he had attained that, when he was only 40, he was invited to preside at a meeting at China Baag, Bombay, on 29 July 1917, to protest against the internment in Madras of Annie Besant and her colleagues. On the dais were notables like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, M.R. Jayakar and Bhulabhai Desai. Jinnah said:

If we accept the policy of the Government, all constitutional and lawful agitation will in effect be stopped, (it will mean) that the freedom of speech and the Press and the right of public meeting under the British flag is henceforth to be regulated by the arbitrary judgment and decision of a Provincial Governor or Government, that the Executive are to decide what is lawful and constitutional propaganda without reference to the Court of Justice

He kept up the pressure on the government in the Assembly. For instance, on 26 September 1917, he raised the question of the release of the Ali Brothers.

Freedom of the press was another issue that aroused his concern. On 19 September 1918 he criticized the government for abusing the trust which the legislature

had reposed in the enactment of the Press Act in 1910.

I have no hesitation in saying that the act has been administered in a most arbitrary manner; and you cannot prevent it; you cannot avoid it, because you must remember that we are all human; and when such arbitrary powers are given to Heads of Departments and to Executive Officers, it must be remembered that they are human, they have got likes and dislikes, and they have their prejudices. And remember this, that there is no appeal, it is final.

To confer vast powers on the executive is virtually to invite their abuse.

Jinnah never spoke on any issue without proper study of the subject. His speeches reflect thorough research and when he did speak it was with crystal clarity. His speech in the Assembly, on 6 February 1919, the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill reflected both qualities.

My first ground is this that it is against the fundamental principles of law and justice, namely, that no man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty, without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure. My second reason is that this is a wrong remedy for the disease, namely, these revolutionary crimes ...My third ground is that the powers which are going to be assumed by the Executive, which means substitution of Executive for Judicial, such powers are likely to be abused. ...My fourth ground is that there is no precedent or parallel that I know of in any other civilized country where you have laws of this character enacted. My fifth ground is that this is a most inopportune moment. At this moment I can tell you that high hopes have been raised among the people of this country because we are on the eve of great and momentous reforms being introduced. My sixth ground is that the proposed measures are of a permanent character and not temporary measures intended only to deal with an emergency of a temporary character. And the last ground why I oppose this measure is that ...if those measures are passed, you will create in this country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation, the like of which you have not witnessed, and it will have, believe me, a most disastrous effect upon the good relations that have existed between the Government and the people.

Repression always alienates.

Jinnah's speeches on the report of the Rowlatt Committee on Sedition and on the Bill, which sought to implement the report, were classics of their kind. On 28 September 1915 he analysed the Report thus:

The first group of powers (according to the Report) should be of the following nature: (i) To demand security with or without assurance from anybody; (ii) to restrict residence, or require notification of change of residence; (iii) to require abstention from certain acts such as engaging in journalism, distributing leaflets, or attending meetings, (iv) require that the person should periodically report to the police.

The second group, (i) To arrest; (ii) to search under warrant; (iii) to confine in penal custody

I say that on the face of it these are measures which not only will not put an end to the crimes that you want to see ended, but will lead to further crimes, and no civilized country, I make bold to say in this council, can tolerate, much less sanction, measures of this character which are called preventive measures.

It is a liberal outlook which inspired his criticism. Thus, to the familiar argument of preserving law and order Jinnah answered on 16 September 1924:

I for one have no hesitation in saying that I believe and I believe firmly that it is the primary function of every Government to maintain law and order. We do not deny that. That is your function that is your business. But the question that this House has got to ask itself is this. How is that function to maintain law and order to be performed? Is it to be performed against the will of the people? Is it to be performed in spite of the will of the people? Is it to be performed by not responding to the public opinion and by retaining a most reactionary and oppressive measure on the statute book.

He added:

I say that it is opposed to every principle of the constitution that in normal times the Executive should have such a power. Even if the Executive were responsible to the Legislature I should be the last person to give this power. Mr Chatterjee said that the Executive is also loath to use this Act. They also know the principles. They know that this Act is a very oppressive Act. They will be slow to use it. I recognize that, but you must remember that if the argument was applied, then why have at all any

Judicial tribunals in this country? Why not leave everything to the Executive? The very object, the very fundamental principle of law which says that no man's property or life is to be taken away without a judicial trial and without giving him the right to defend himself you take away by this Act.

Jinnah consistently opposed imprisonment without trial; 'preventive detention' in South Asian lingo, quite regardless of the politics of the detainee. He opposed Sarat Chandra Bose's detention in 1935, for instance.

Jinnah had a balanced approach on religion. He loathed religious bigotry; urged respect for people's religious feelings and lent support for the right of free speech on reasoned criticism of religion.

Speaking on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill on 5 September 1927:

There can be no question that we in this House wish to make it clear that in future no wanton vilification or attack on any religion shall be permitted—then let us proceed with this Bill'. He said that scurrilous writers should be punished. But he did not stop at that. He added also: 'I thoroughly endorse the principle that while this measure should aim at those undesirable persons who indulge in wanton vilification or attack upon the religion of any particular class or upon the founders and prophets of a religion, we must also secure this very important and fundamental principle that those who are engaged in historical works, those who are engaged in bona fide and honest criticisms of a religion shall be protected.

The acid test of the sincerity of a person's commitment to civil liberties is his support to a person denied of his rights even when he does not share that person's political views. Jinnah's speech in the Central Assembly on 13 and 14 September 1929 in defence of Bhagat Singh drew waves of applause as *The Tribune* reported. Jinnah said 'The man who goes on hunger strike has a soul. He is moved by the soul and he believes in the justice of his cause'.

Even less remembered is the speech in defence of Vallabhbhai Patel in the Assembly on 10 March 1930. An adjournment motion was moved in the Assembly on 10 March 1930 on an order under section 42 of the Bombay District Police Act prohibiting Vallabhbhai Patel from speaking at public meetings for a month.



*Quaid-i-Azam with Fatima Jinnah and other ladies*

Jinnah denounced the order in the strongest of terms. He warned.

An order should not be passed which goes to the root of the principle of liberty of speech Sir, the precedent that the Government of India are creating—this is what I am afraid of and that is where the danger lies—the precedent they are creating is a dangerous precedent, and I want this House to understand that this is a very important issue.

He read out to the Assembly a quotation so striking as to prompt one of the European members to ask for the reference. It was from the classic *American Government and Politics* by Beard. It read thus:

Liberty of opinions, of course, is open to abuse; it is constantly abused, but far more open to abuse is the right to suppress opinion and far more often, in the long history of humanity, has it been abused. Still all matters of sentiment may be put on one side. It is hard, cold proposition: by what process are we most

likely to secure orderly and intelligent government, by the process of censorship or that of freedom? On this question a comparison of English and Russian history is illuminating

Jinnah asked, 'Do you want to follow the Russian history or the English history?' and continued to read the passage: 'Again and again those who have attempted to stop the progress of opinion by the gallows and prison have merely hastened their own destruction by violence'.

Jinnah read widely and remembered well what he had read. He espoused the cause of civil liberties with his formidable intellect and forensic equipment which he built up with his close study of the law.

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# *Jinnah and Women's Emancipation*

SHARIF AL MUJAHID

All said and done, Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) was a liberal, par excellence. To quote Hector Bolitho (1898-1975), Jinnah's official biographer, who had interviewed some two hundred persons, who knew Jinnah personally, during 1952-54,

Jinnah told Dr. [K.M.] Ashraf that during the last two years [1894-96] in London his time was 'utilized for further independent studies for the political career' he had already 'had in mind'. Jinnah also said, 'Fortune smiled on me, and I happened to meet several important English Liberals with whose help I came to understand the doctrine of Liberalism. The Liberalism of Lord Morley [1838-1923] was then in full sway. I grasped that Liberalism, which became part of my life and thrilled me very much'

And this initial penchant for liberalism received a shot in the arm and got crystallized, becoming an integral part of his personality, when he settled himself, late in the 1890s, in cosmopolitan Bombay, the foremost abode of liberalism in the subcontinent. Soon enough, he joined the Bombay Presidency Association, its foremost political body, which not only worked in





concert with the Indian National Congress (f. 1885), but also claimed among its leading lights several Congress stalwarts and past presidents—Badruddin Tyabji (1844–1906), Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915), Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta (1845–1915), and Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, among others. With all of them he was at home, and from all of them he received inspiration and ideological sustenance, to emerge as a rising liberal leader when he entered politics from the Congress's platform in 1904.

No wonder, Jinnah's fascination for liberalism led him to subscribe to democratic ethos all the way. This, in turn, inexorably led him to become, perhaps, the foremost spokesman for civic freedoms and human rights in the Indian Legislative Assembly, of which he was a member for some thirty years, during 1910 and 1947. And this to a point that even when his opponents were involved, he consistently and routinely espoused the cause of the aggrieved, pleading for conceding or restoring them their basic, inalienable rights.

In tandem to his liberal ethos and his consuming concern with human rights was his burgeoning passion for reversing the 'wretched' condition of women, who stood marginalized, not only in the pre-modern East, but also in the modern West, in the decades before and after the advent of the twentieth century. To quote Miss Agatha Harrison, one of the speakers at a memorial meeting for Jinnah at Caxton Hall, London, on 14 September 1948,

When Jinnah was a student in London [1892–96], the suffragette movement was gathering momentum; but we had very few sympathizers and supporters. Young Jinnah always came to our meetings and spoke in defence of vote for women. Even then he was not afraid of championing an unpopular cause.

Jinnah's belief that women should be extended all the opportunities available to men at various stages in their lives was amply reflected in his careful handling of the schooling and career orientation of Fatima Jinnah (1893–1967), his youngest sister and ward. Much against the family and the community traditions, she was sent first to the Bandhara Convent School (1902), then to the St. Patrick School (1906), both in Bombay, where she did her Senior Cambridge

(1913), and, still later, in 1919, all the way to Dr Ahmad Dental College, in Calcutta (1919–22), to qualify for a professional career. There she stayed at a hostel, as in Bombay, although her sister, Maryam, along with her family, was living in metropolitan Calcutta. Upon graduation, Fatima opened a dental clinic on Abdur Rahman Street, in Bombay, in 1923, and simultaneously worked at the nearby Dhobi Talau Municipal Clinic in the evening, on a voluntary basis. All this was, of course, nothing less than a rare phenomenon even for cosmopolitan Bombay, the most modernized metropolis in the subcontinent at the time. Yet it was made possible, if only because Jinnah believed that women have an inalienable right to carve out for themselves a career of their own choice.

During his long parliamentary career (1910–47), Jinnah had consistently and religiously stood against every sort and shade of discrimination against women and other unprivileged classes. Three major instances of social legislation designed to ameliorate the women's lot, to which he lent critical support in the Central Assembly, stand out. First, he stoutly supported Bhupendranath Basu's Special Marriage Amendment Bill (1912), which provided for legal cover to marriages falling outside the Hindu and Muslim laws, although it provoked unrestrained consternation among vast sections of the articulate, vocal Muslim strata. And that to a point that Jinnah felt that he could no more claim to represent them in the Imperial Council. Hence, he decided to sit out the 1913 elections. Second, sixteen years later, when he was already an universally acknowledged Muslim leader, he had materially helped in the passage of the controversial Sarda Bill (1929), prohibiting child marriage. The Hindu Child Marriage Bill, introduced by Rai Sahib Haridas Sarda in 1927 and designed, 'to put a stop to child widowhood' among the Hindus, was referred to a Select Committee and later circulated for eliciting public opinion. It had also provoked a strong opposition, with twenty-two Assembly members, in a representation to the Home Member, having opposed it in 1928, besides among all sorts of public bodies and in almost the entire vernacular press except for a few notable exceptions. The opposition also transcended the communal divide since its

provisions were equally applicable to Muslims as well. Thus, seventy-four ulema, including those of the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Hind (f. 1919), stoutly opposed the Bill in a widely circulated *fatwa* while three Muslim members of the 18-member Select Committee wrote Minutes of Dissent, both characterizing the Bill as a gross infringement of Muslim Personal Law. And among the Muslim Assembly members, it was only Jinnah, a recognized authority on Muhammadan Law, who could tear their contentious arguments to smithereens and have this prevalent (mis)impression exploded by discrediting its premises: by quoting chapter and verse. Arguing that 'marriage is a contract according to Muhammadan Law', he asked pointedly 'whether there is any text [of the Quran] which makes it obligatory on the Mussalmans that they should get their daughters married before the age of 14'. Hence the Bill did not 'in any way militate against the rule of civil laws applicable to marriages among Mussalmans'—was his clinching argument. His subsequent remarks, which exemplify his social philosophy, call for special attention:

I cannot believe that there can be a divine sanction for such evil practices as are prevailing, and that we should not, for a single minute, give our sanction to the continuance of these evil practices any longer. How can there be such a divine sanction to this cruel, horrible, disgraceful, inhuman practice that is prevailing in India?

Third, in September 1937, not only did he get the Moslem Personal Law (Shariat) Application Bill (1937) amended to rid it of certain ambiguities, but also extended his critical support in making it to the Statute Book. The Bill sought to replace the customary law by the Shariat law in certain matters where the parties to the dispute were Muslims. Since 'the economic position of woman is the foundation of her being recognized as equal of man and share the life of man to the fullest extent', he argued, the Bill helped the women in a substantial measure as it enabled them to inherit their ancestral property and to claim dissolution of marriage on certain grounds. His great regret, however, was that the Bill could not cover the right of succession to agricultural lands as it was an exclusively provincial subject under the Government of India Act, 1935.

However, Jinnah's major role in the emancipation of Muslim women came in the mid-1930s when he began reorganizing and revitalizing the moribund All-India Muslim League (AIML), the most authoritative Muslim political organization since its inception in 1906. Till then, the Muslim women were mere shrouded, silent creatures, severely quarantined to the four walls of their homes, deeply steeped in dogma and superstition, and routinely denied the fruits of modern education, health care and a career. At that juncture, Jinnah was the foremost Muslim leader to raise his authoritative voice against the pathetic conditions to which the Muslim women had been consigned for a long while, and against discrimination of all sorts. He boldly and consistently espoused the women's cause and wished to see them as equal partners of men in all walks of life. No wonder, he declared at Aligarh on 10 March 1944,

...no nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the house as prisoners. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of Western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideas and standards. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life.

When Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz (1896-1979) told the AIML Council at Lucknow in October 1937 that she had set up a Punjab Muslim Women's League, Jinnah stood up and said that 'he did not believe in separate men and women's organizations, but in their working together from the primary League upwards'. He also instructed the Provincial Leagues to include mandatorily two women members in their respective quotas of membership in the AIML Council. Thus, at Jinnah's instance, a beginning was made in securing and ensuring women's representation in the AIML. And within barely six months, Jinnah's initiative at Lucknow began yielding positive results to a point that he was able to report in his presidential address to the AIML's special session at Calcutta, on 17 April 1938, 'We have made efforts to take our women with us in our struggle and in many places that I [have]

visited they took enormous interest and participated in various gatherings and functions'.

In December 1938, at the AIML session at Patna, Jinnah went a step further. He appointed a Central Women's Committee, with Fatima Jinnah as convener, and it was specially tasked to draft a comprehensive programme for women's social, economic and cultural uplift, and to organize provincial and district sub-committees under the provincial and district Muslim Leagues. When the question of *purdah* (veil) was raised on another resolution by a section at Patna, Jinnah effectively intervened, arguing that 'it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle for life and death. Women can do a good deal within their homes, even with *purdah*'. Though for political reasons, Jinnah, avoided speaking against *purdah* unreservedly, his taking Fatima Jinnah to the AIML sessions and rallies emboldened his close lieutenants such as Begum Habibullah of Delhi District Muslim League and Begum Qudsia Aijaz Rasul continuously campaigned against seclusion of women. On another occasion, Jinnah pleaded 'that men must be made to understand and made to feel that woman is his equal and that woman is his friend and comrade and [that] they together can build up homes, families and the nation'. Again: 'No nation achieves anything unless the women go side by side with men—even to the battlefield'.

Besides political mobilization, the Central Women's Committee addressed itself before long to social problems encountered by the community, and organized social work extensively. Thus, it not only passed several resolutions concerning housewives' problems and food shortages, as well as on more fundamental issues such as women's inheritance, but it also involved itself in a follow-up action to get its decisions implemented on the ground. In subsequent years, this Committee would hold separate sessions after the AIML annual sessions, where women's on-going problems were discussed in depth and at length, a programme of action to get them solved or redressed was chalked out, and viable measures to get its implementation devised. Separate arrangements were also made for women participants in the AIML sessions, while the more prominent among them

sat on the dais, without much ado. And with the years, their participation snowballed and swelled to motivating some 5,000 women attend the AIML session in droves at Karachi, in December 1943.

Within three months after Patna, Jinnah also got the door to women participation at the highest echelon opened: he got Begum Mohamed Ali, widow of Maulana Mohamed Ali (1878-1931), nominated to the AIML's apex body, the Working Committee, on 16 March 1939. 'The time', he said, 'has come when it is necessary to have one who could represent...the views of the women of India, and their wants and requirements in the national life of the Mussalmans'. This position she held till her death in 1944. On her part, Begum Mohamed Ali, though *burqa*-clad, was yet a staunch advocate for women's participation in public life, exhorting them to come to the forefront, join the AIML and fight for the cause of the community. In perspective, however, Jinnah's keenness on their participation (and empowerment) should be inevitably attributed to his profound belief in their potential, as exemplified in his assertion on 25 March 1940: 'There are two powers in the world: one is the sword and [the] other is the pen. There is a great competition and rivalry between the two. There is a third power stronger than both, that of the women'. To him, moreover, 'no nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take with them their women. No struggle can ever succeed without women ever participating side by side with men'. Hence he consistently and continuously committed the Muslim League to increasingly enlist women's active participation 'in the national struggle'. And by February 1946 he could claim that 'the League's clarion call had penetrated inside it [the *Purdah*] and [had] brought a message of hope and cheer to Muslim women'.

On his part, Jinnah himself had always taken his sister, Fatima, along to these sessions, and wherever she went with him, she walked shoulder to shoulder, *not* behind him. Clearly, this proclaimed a message. A message, loud and clear, for every one within reach: the ennobling message of gender equality. In the 1940s, although it was rashly impolitic to take her along with him to traditional and tribal areas such as the NWFP and Balochistan, especially when he was striving so



hard to get them gathered on the burgeoning AIML platform, he did it with rank impunity since he would at no cost compromise on a basic principle he had believed in so passionately since his student days.

...in those days not even British male politicians encouraged their womenfolk to take a public role as Jinnah did [recalls Yahya Bakhtiar, a former Attorney-General and a senator from Balochistan]. After Pakistan had been created he asked Fatima Jinnah to sit beside him at the Sibi Durbar, the grand annual gathering of Baloch and Pakhtun chiefs and leaders at Sibi. He was making a point: Muslim women must take their place in history. The Sibi Durbar broke all precedents.

To quote Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain, a former member of the Punjab and West Pakistan assemblies (1946-58) and a social worker, it gave great encouragement to women to see that they could find a place of honour with men like [the] Quaid-i-Azam. 'He was a very enlightened leader...who sincerely wanted that women should get a status equal to that of men', recalls Khurshid Ara Begum, wife of Nawab Siddique Ali Khan (1900-74), Salar-i-Aala of the Muslim National Guards, who knew Jinnah closely for about a decade.

Meantime, at Jinnah's instance, the Muslim Women Students Federation (f. 1941) and the Women's National Guards (f. 1942) were launched, both of them designed to mobilize the womenfolk alongside the menfolk in the struggle for Pakistan. The Federation could be a closed-door gathering, but not the National Guards who, by their very avocation, had to work in the open, discarding the *purdah* and the traditional women's role. Surely, a revolutionary step for the early 1940s, and a big leap forward towards women's emancipation and empowerment, towards actualizing their potential, towards engendering gender equality. The first Muslim Women's Conference, held at the Anglo-Arabic College in Delhi, in February 1942, was, of course, a modest affair, yet it was extremely significant and path-breaking. 'Unmarried girls' came 'unchaperoned' and stayed 'in a place with people unknown to their families'—indeed, 'a revolutionary thing in those days', to quote Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain. In perspective, all this signified the acceptance of an entirely new role for women:

it signalled the erosion of the age-long traditional barriers, of the iniquitous male-female segregation and stratification syndrome, and, more important, of the chauvinistic male domination in vogue till then, if only because of the entrenched patriarchal mindset and ethos, which had ruled the subcontinental Muslim societal structure and cultural milieu for centuries. That means, Jinnah's call for a change in men's attitude, which he did on 25 March 1940, was getting materialized, though imperceptibly.

Interestingly, during the critical (1945-46) general elections, the Muslim women had played a pivotal role, though not yet fully recognized in the literature. Women comprised almost one-third of the audiences in the election meetings in the Punjab, to quote Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daulatana (1916-95), the most dynamic of the New Turks in the Muslim League camp in the 1940s. Their role in literally goading, almost dragging, the men voters to the polling booths was crucial, especially in the Punjab where the bureaucracy-backed Unionist Ministry had put up all sorts of obstacles in the way of a favourable verdict on Pakistan.

More significant was the women's role in the burgeoning civil disobedience movements in the Punjab during January-February 1947, and in the NWFP during February-June 1947. Women organized processions in Lahore day after day on a routine basis, for a whole month, undergoing all sorts of hazards: bracing teargas, withstanding baton-charges, courting arrests and undergoing imprisonment, and all that undauntedly. One of the prisoners, the intrepid Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, daughter of Begum Shah Nawaz, made a green flag out of her own dupatta, climbed up the jail building stealthily, and hoisted it atop the building publicly, shouting '*Allah-o-Akbar*' (God is great) and '*Pakistan Zindabad*'. And all that to the acclaim and amazement of one and all. Likewise, two weeks later, as a mammoth women's procession reached its final destination, the imposing Punjab Secretariat building, at the far end of the Mall in Lahore, which housed the all-powerful Punjab bureaucracy, the processionists were unexpectedly treated to a bold, heart-warning feat. A 13-year-old girl, Fatima Sughra, suddenly but determinedly climbed up the massive iron gate, pulled



down the fluttering Union Jack, the living symbol of imperial power, and replaced it with the resplendent crescent-spangled green Muslim League flag, which she had made out of her own dupatta. And all that in the presence of a strong police contingent. No wonder, her feat provoked the vast concourse into a loud acclaim.

No less striking were the women's undaunted feats in the NWFP, traditionally one of the subcontinent's most conservative areas. The civil disobedience movement enthused the usually timid and home-bound Pakhtoon women to pluck up the requisite courage into crossing the traditional, tribal threshold—the Rubicon in their normative ethos, as it were. They

cast off their veil and organized public processions and demonstrations, in defiance of Section 144. Like their compatriots in the Punjab, they also boldly underwent teargas, baton charges, imprisonment and even braced gunfire. In tandem, they also dared scaling ladders and climbing up buildings to hoist the League flag at various public places. Midway through the movement, on 3 April 1947, some 1,500 women resorted to picketing, for the first time in the NWFP history. More daring was the launch of a secret organization, called a 'War Council', and the ingenious setting up of an underground radio station simultaneously. Called the Pakistan Broadcasting Radio, it would



*The Quaid-i-Azam with his sister Fatima and daughter Dina in London*

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broadcast daily unruffled, till Pakistan's emergence on 14-15 August 1947.

Thus, within a brief spell of barely ten years (1937-47), the apathetic and timid, home-bound, *purdah*-clad, and superstitious-prone Muslim women had been able to transform themselves radically. They had turned into a proactive, vocal, highly motivated and mobilized group—a group supremely conscious of their latent potentialities for political and social action. Indeed, the Pakistan movement had enabled them to actualize their potential for organizing, demonstrating, mobilizing, picketing, courting arrest, withstanding persecution, baton-charges, and teargas. And all that boldly and joyously, without demur and with little heed to consequences. At another level, they geared themselves up, to raising funds and organizing relief work in times of crises. Thus, they had raised sizeable funds during the Bengal famine (1943-44) and the 1945-46 general elections, and for the victims of the communal holocausts in Calcutta and Bihar (1946). Among others, Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain and Fatima Begum, from Lahore, went all the way to Bihar and stayed there for over two months, doing relief work. They also visited some seventy-two relief camps in Bihar and neighbouring Calcutta, and organized extensive relief work over there. A year later, they did the same in West Punjab, for the seven million refugees that had trekked into Pakistan in the most pathetic condition, during the partition riots in 1947-48.

A cursory reading of history shows that a crisis always catalytically calls for, as well as helps in, actualizing the latent potential in a community, no less than in an individual. No wonder, the Muslim crisis in 1937, when Muslim India had plummeted to its nadir in the annals of its chequered history since the 1857 Revolt, had helped, substantially and significantly, to cause this gigantic transformation in the mindset, ethos and behavioural patterns of both men and women. That men should have gallantly gone along with the women shoulder to shoulder in this burgeoning emancipatory venture is all the more important. And this for the simple reason that women by themselves could not have possibly donned this role without the fulsome support of the menfolk. And through both word and deed, Jinnah had consistently inspired and

prepared the menfolk to go in for this transformation. Thus Jinnah utilized the political mobilization route effectively to put the male-female relationship on an even keel, and get the woman emancipated and empowered, step by step. No wonder, it later became routinized in Pakistan's national life.

Simultaneously, if only because of their role alongside their menfolk, women had won the right to vote, to receive education, to carve out a career for themselves, and to own property. In their emergence as a vocal, proactive group during the momentous 1937-47 decade, Jinnah, as noted earlier, had helped them the most. He also duly acknowledged their notable contribution in the freedom struggle: 'Half of Pakistan is yours because you have put in no less effort to achieve it than the men', he emphasized while addressing a women's gathering on the lawns of the Sindh Governor's House in Karachi, late in 1947. Upon Pakistan's birth, therefore, he obviously felt that

In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity, the women have a valuable part to play, as the prime architects of the character of the youth that constitutes the backbone, not only in their homes but by helping their less fortunate sisters outside in that great task. I know that in the long struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, Muslim women have stood solidly behind their men. In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty.

And they did not.

He also saw to it that women were represented in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, that they were included in the delegations to the UN and international conferences, and in the executive bodies of almost every organization, set up after Pakistan's birth. Even before Pakistan's birth, Jinnah had set up a precedent by sending Begum Shah Nawaz along with M.A.H. Ispahani (1902-81) to the US in October 1946 to explain the League's viewpoint and the case for Pakistan to the various delegations to the UN as well as to the press and the public at large. Again, it was Jinnah who had inspired his sister, Fatima Jinnah, and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan (1905-90), wife of Pakistan's first prime minister, to found several



institutions and organizations for the educational uplift, economic amelioration and professional training of women in Pakistan's formative years. For initiating a campaign for ridding the society of social evils, for creating social awareness among women and to prepare them for social action, the APWA (The All-Pakistan Women's Association) was organized by Begum Liaquat Ali Khan who was extremely active in focusing on and addressing women's problems in the education, health care, and employment sectors. The APWA pioneered founding community-based, self-help oriented institutions, making the marginalized women's strata aware of their potential, semi-skilled, financially productive, and a lesser burden on the society. The APWA and other kindred social welfare oriented bodies helped women to embrace change, break new ground and enter domains, till then largely 'reserved' for males. And that signalled the entry of exceptional women to coveted public offices, not as a concession, but competing with their male counterparts.

On its part, the government itself was equally keen. No wonder, it enacted for women in Pakistan, the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat, in 1948, which was a big leap forward. It replaced customary law and conceded property rights to women across Pakistan, an inalienable right that was first voiced by Jinnah when the Central Assembly discussed the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Bill in September 1937, and that was mooted and demanded by the AIML Central Women's Committee some nine years earlier. This was followed some thirteen years later by the Muslim Family Ordinance of 1961. Promulgated by President Mohammad Ayub Khan (1907-74), it recognized the conjugal rights of women in a large measure. Thus, a new matrix of socially acceptable behaviour pattern was firmly laid, and this, with the years, enabled women to work their way up incrementally into the upper echelons of the government, the professions, and the educational, corporate and political fields.

In politics especially, they have been able to carve out a place for themselves, thanks to the positive orientation of the successive governments under Jinnah's initiative and inspiration. Women had some nominal representation under the Government of India Act, 1935, which accounted for the presence

of women in the assemblies in Pakistan's initial years. Then, in 1973, the Constitution, promulgated by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-79), conceded women 10 per cent representation for the next twenty years. Its lapse in 1993 was rectified by President Pervez Musharraf during 2001-02 when he provided for some 25 per cent representation in the local government bodies and 33 per cent in the National Assembly. And, as of April 2006, women filled in seven slots in the federal and provincial cabinets.

It was, again, Jinnah's creative influence that had emboldened Fatima Jinnah to contest against Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan in the 1965 presidential election. In perspective, her candidature had settled, once and for all, the thorny question whether or not a woman can be the head of an avowedly Muslim state, a significant contribution to the nationally acceptable ethos of governance rules in Pakistan. Twenty-four years later, in 1988, it smoothed the way for Benazir Bhutto (1953-2007) to become the first woman prime minister of a Muslim country, without the least hitch. Equally important, Fatima Jinnah was probably the first woman to contest a presidential election in any country of the world. More remarkable, she did it in the most impropitious circumstances, compounded by her advanced age and failing health. But, above all, in doing so, Fatima Jinnah had quintessentially dramatized Jinnah's vision of Pakistan so far as gender equality and mainstreaming is concerned. When asked, in 1942, by Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad, sister of Begum Shah Nawaz and daughter of Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932), whether the 'foundations of our new State [would] be laid on conservatism' or whether it would assume 'the shape of a progressive country', Jinnah had categorically assured her,

Tell your young girls, I am a progressive Muslim leader I, therefore, take my sister along with me to backward areas like Balochistan and NWFP and she also attends the sessions of the All-India Muslim League and other public meetings. *Insha Allah* [God willing], Pakistan will be a progressive country in the building of which women will be seen working shoulder to shoulder with men in every department of life.

# *The Quaid and the Princely States of India*

SHAHARYAR M. KHAN



**Q**uaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's role in influencing the princely states of India has not so far been highlighted by historians examining pre-partition negotiations between the Indian states, Indian leaders and the British government. These negotiations hinged on the close association between Quaid-i-Azam and my grandfather, Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal who was Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes that represented the 554 princely states, during the pre-partition period. The friendship between the Quaid and the Nawab of the Bhopal was founded in 1924 when the Nawab's mother Sultan Jahan Begum—the last of the four famous Begums of Bhopal—was fighting a legal battle against the British viceroy in the Bhopal Succession Case. She wanted her son to succeed as Nawab of Bhopal against the viceroy's insistence that her grandson was the rightful successor on the basis of primogeniture. Mr Jinnah came to Bhopal in 1924 as a leading lawyer and was consulted by the Begum on the legal and constitutional issues relating to the succession case.

From then on to the late 1930s and 1940s, Nawab Hamidullah Khan became a close associate of Quaid-i-Azam's struggle to establish the rights of Indian Muslims in India. The Nawab of Bhopal, one of the few university graduates among Indian princes and an urbane politician, became a leading figure in negotiations between Indian leaders and the British. He was invited to the Simon Commission deliberations and was regularly consulted by British viceroys and Special British Missions that visited India before independence. Nawab Hamidullah Khan's dual aim was to safeguard the interests of the quasi independent princely states of India and to ensure that the Muslims of India were given fair constitutional rights on

independence. In both these endeavours, the Nawab of Bhopal shared common cause with the Quaid. The safeguarding of Muslim rights was obvious but the Nawab of Bhopal's attempt to forge a loose-linked alliance among the major princely states was encouraged by Mr Jinnah as this alliance, if it succeeded, would axiomatically reduce the strength of the Congress Party. The Nawab of Bhopal became a major benefactor to the Muslim League and appointed to his Bhopal cabinet, ministers and advisors who were Muslim League stalwarts and Mr Jinnah's confidantes. Among them were Shoaib Qureshi, Abdur Rehman Sindhi, Khundkar Fazle Haider, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman who maintained a



*The Quaid-i-Azam with Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Right, and Nawab Hamidullah Khan at Mandla*



close liaison between the Nawab of Bhopal and Mr Jinnah. Of course, Allama Iqbal already had a long association with Bhopal.

On being elected Chancellor of the Chamber Princes in 1946, the Nawab of Bhopal appointed Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan as his advisor—obviously on the advice of Mr Jinnah—with a view to giving constitutional shape to his idea of a confederation of Indian princely states—Rajasthan. In this attempt Nawab Hamidullah Khan was inhibited by the fact that, except for Hyderabad, Bhopal and the remote Kalat, the major princely rulers were either Hindu or Sikh. These states would resist being led by a Muslim Nawab even if they saw merit in the concept of Rajasthan. Moreover, the British, especially Mountbatten, soon became wise to the Nawab of Bhopal's plans while the Congress Party were implacably opposed to what they considered the Nawab of Bhopal's attempt to undermine Congress domination of India. The Congress appointed its most able stalwarts—Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and V.P. Menon—to bring the princely states quickly to heel and to snuff out any attempt to forge a princely alliance.

Initially, Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan's discussions with the major princely states elicited a favourable response. He played on their treaty rights to independence, their pride, their expected loss of power and finance. Zafarullah Khan highlighted the advantages of a loose association of princely states and the likely anonymity of the princes after centuries of independent rule if they joined the Congress dominated union of India. The proud Rajput states like, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Udaipur and the senior Maratha states Holkar and Baroda lent Zafarullah a receptive ear. Initially, Bikaner, Cooch-Behar, Kashmir, Patiala were also favourably inclined but Patel and V.P. Menon set about their task with stick and carrot and their major weapon was to warn the Hindu and Sikh rulers of the 'machinations' of the Muslim Nawab of Bhopal who was in close cohorts with Jinnah. Supported by Mountbatten, most of the potential Rajasthanis succumbed to the threats held out by Patel and Menon and jumped off the train to Rajasthan even before it was ready to run. Perhaps the Rajasthan idea was not practical as it envisaged a confederation of disparate entities with

no coherent links of statehood. Some of the states resisted merger to the bitter end like Hyderabad, Jodhpur and of course Kashmir but by August 1947 the die was cast and merger agreements had been signed between the government of India and the princely rulers. These mergers were carried out ruthlessly in India, more gently in Pakistan but the result was the same—hundreds of years on independence of the princely states merged into the new states of India and Pakistan.

By the time Partition came there was only flicker of hope that some of the larger states would defy the Indian government and refuse to join the union. Hyderabad made an attempt through its ramshackle Razakar force but was crushed in a four day operation by the Indian army. Kashmir is a saga that remains unresolved to this day. The Nawab of Junagadh made a dash for Karachi where his accession was warmly greeted. Junagadh state was quickly taken over by the Indian government and a plebiscite organized where its 80 per cent Hindu population predictably voted in favour of union with India. Perhaps the most bizarre initiative was the Maharajah of Jodhpur's decision to accede to Pakistan. Here was a Hindu maharajah with a predominately Hindu population opting to accede to Pakistan which he felt would accept his state's autonomous status. Jodhpur unlike Junagadh was contiguous with Pakistan. It is recorded in several anecdotal memoirs on the Quaid that the maharajah travelled secretly to Pakistan—probably Jaisalmer—where he met the Quaid and enquired the terms that Pakistan would offer him. The Quaid is reported to have taken out a pen and a blank sheet of paper and asked the maharajah to draw up his own terms. 'I shall sign the blank sheet' said the Quaid. Flabbergasted the maharajah returned that night to Jodhpur to be met by Sardar Patel and V.P. Menon who made it clear to the maharajah that he would be signing his death warrant if he acceded to Pakistan and that India would in any case take over Jodhpur. The maharajah reluctantly relented.

During these tumultuous times the Quaid and Nawab Hamidullah Khan had developed a mutual respect for each other. They shared a common vision for the Muslims of India and even though as a far-sighted pragmatic politician Mr Jinnah would not have



expected the Rajasthan scheme to fly, there was no harm in discreetly encouraging the Nawab of Bhopal's proposal. There was nothing to lose, all to gain. After all, the two wings of Pakistan separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory was to be part of a single sovereign state. By August 1947, the Rajasthan idea was virtually dead, killed mainly by Nawab Hamidullah Khan's erstwhile supporters who, later, turned against the scheme. These included the maharajahs of Bikaner, Gwalior, Patiala and finally Baroda. By then the princely rulers of India were crumbling under pressure from Vallabhbhai Patel.

The princely states had been left in the lurch by the British government either as a deliberate policy or because riots and other vital issues had left no time or focus on constitutional dispensation for the princes. In the following extract of his letter to Mountbatten, the Nawab of Bhopal vented his dismay at the British government's unwillingness to engage the states in accordance with their treaty rights. In essence, times had changed, the British were leaving. The states would have to fend for themselves.

The Mountbatten Plan recognizes the political division of India into Muslim India and Hindu India. This cuts right across the principles to which the states have throughout adhered. As soon as His [Britannic] Majesty's Government found themselves compelled to accord their recognition, however, reluctantly, to the division of India on a religious basis, they should have called the representatives of the states in consultation to discover how the proposed division of India would effect them and whether it would be possible for all or any of them to find a place in the future Indian political and constitutional set up. This was not done, and the omission to do so has resulted in the states being placed in a very grave and delicate predicament. Many of the states view this default on the part of His Majesty's Government as a virtual repudiation of the guarantees and assurances which have been given to the states at various times by and on behalf of the British Crown. The treatment accorded by His Majesty's Government to the states under the Mountbatten Plan is so incomprehensible that the only assumption that can be made in His Majesty's Government's favour is that this consequence of the Mountbatten Plan was not sufficiently

appreciated during the hurried consideration of the plan by His Majesty's Government, and that it was not deliberately devised or intended. Nobody appears to have paid any attention to what the reaction of the states might be. In fact the States have in this connection been completely ignored as if they formed no part of India at all. His Majesty's Government appear to have been concerned only in devising a scheme for British India and have as a postscript to that scheme

During the immediate post-independence period, the Quaid and the Nawab were in close touch with each other. The Nawab of Bhopal had signed the merger agreement with India and 230 years of independent rule was now at an end, ironically handed over by the first male ruler after four consecutive generations of women rulers. The Quaid wanted the Nawab of Bhopal to help build up the fledgling state of Pakistan. As a recognized politician and a man of vast experience in running a government, the Nawab of Bhopal's experience was invaluable and the Quaid initially wanted him either as defence minister or governor of East Pakistan. The Nawab's loyal cabal had already moved to Karachi as an advance party while Nawab Hamidullah Khan, having bought two large mansions in Karachi waited for the Quaid's green signal to move to Pakistan. It came only half-heartedly as politicians surrounding the Quaid, advised him against giving Nawab Hamidullah Khan a special role. The Quaid remained convinced, however, of Nawab Hamidullah Khan's value to Pakistan, but the Quaid died soon afterwards. Even after the Quaid's death and Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination, the Nawab of Bhopal actively considered moving to Pakistan especially as the Congress leadership was not well disposed towards him. As late as 1956 he told his grandson in London that he was intending to move to Pakistan. He visited Karachi in 1957 for the last time when Iskander Mirza was president. On return to Bhopal he suffered a major heart attack from which he never recovered

Though the Congress leadership was wary of Nawab Hamidullah Khan's plan in favour of a third block and his support for the Muslim League, he was respected as an articulate political personality who had twice been elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes

He also had a special value to the viceroy and to Gandhi and Nehru because the Nawab of Bhopal was regarded as the only politician who could influence Mr Jinnah. On several occasions his counsel was sought with a view to influencing the 'obdurate' Jinnah. For instance, Mountbatten asked the Nawab to intervene with the Quaid after he decided that he would be Pakistan's first Governor-General.

The Quaid's soft and accommodating policy towards the princely states of both India and Pakistan was based on gaining political advantage for Pakistan. A confederation of Indian princely states—if it were to emerge—would inevitably weaken Congress's hold on India. Secondly, Hyderabad was the richest state in India that defied merging into the Indian Union. Hyderabad became a vital financial benefactor for Pakistan and in return Pakistan supported Hyderabad's independence struggle, until it was snuffed out by Indian military action. Acceptance of Junagadh's accession was perhaps a tactical error as it eroded Pakistan's stand on Kashmir that a ruler could not sign away the destiny of its state against the wishes of its population.

In Pakistan, unlike the Indian steamroller, the states were treated benignly. The rulers were allowed privileges and space before merging their states into the Pakistan federation. Thus in due course of time, Kalat, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Swat, Dir and other states located on Pakistan territory were absorbed gradually without posing real problems for the government. Thus ended the era of Indian princely states that had been sustained by the support of the British government.



Quart 4. am taking the salute during a march past in Poona on 15 April 1948. The band on the right is the 2/15 Punjab presenting their colours

# Jinnah's 'Gettysburg Address'

AKBAR S. AHMED

What was Jinnah's vision of Pakistan? Would Pakistan be a modern democracy or a closed theocracy? Would non-Muslims be safe in it?

Since Jinnah did not write a book or monograph, the main clue to his thinking comes through his speeches. If we put together two of his speeches in the crucial month of August 1947, when he had attained his Pakistan—indeed, the first two speeches that he made in his new state—we are able to grasp his vision for the state he had created. The first was delivered on 11 August when the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan elected him as their first President, the second on 14 August which is now celebrated as Pakistan's Independence Day. Together they comprise Jinnah's 'Gettysburg Address', and would form the base for his subsequent speeches in the year that remained to him.

This first speech was perhaps the most significant. It is an outpouring of ideas on the state and the nature of society, almost a stream of consciousness. No





bureaucratic hand impedes the flow because it was delivered without notes:

Now, if we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make. I cannot emphasize it too much. We would begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community—because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among Hindus you have Brahmuns, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalees, Madrasis and so on—will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long, long ago

Building up from this powerful passage comes the vision of a brave new world, consciously an improvement in its spirit of tolerance on the old world he had just rejected:

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. . . . We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state.

If Pakistan could follow these ideals, Jinnah would be confident of the future. Jinnah made a pledge:

My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world.

Two days later the Mountbattens flew to Karachi to help celebrate the formal transfer of power. In his formal speech to the Constituent Assembly on 14 August, Lord Mountbatten offered the example of Akbar the Great as the model of a tolerant Muslim ruler to Pakistan.

Emperor Akbar had always been a favourite of those who believe in synthesis or what in our time passes for secular. To most non-Muslims in South Asia, Akbar symbolized a tolerant Muslim, one they could do business with. He avoided eating beef because the cow was sacred to the Hindus. The Rajputs gave his armies leading generals and his court influential wives.

But for many Muslims Akbar posed certain problems. Although he was a great king by many standards, he was far from an ideal Muslim ruler, there was too much of the wilful oriental despot in his behaviour. His harem was said to number a thousand wives. His drinking, his drugs and his blood lust were excessive even by Mughal standards. In a fit of rage he had some 30,000 people massacred because they resisted him (in the siege of Chitor in 1567). Akbar also introduced a new religious philosophy, *dan-e-ilahi*, a hotchpotch of some of the established religions, with Akbar himself as a focal religious point. This was imperial capriciousness, little else; but it made the ulema unhappy.

Mountbatten would have been aware that six Mughal emperors, beginning with Babar in 1526 and ending with Aurangzeb's death in 1707, had ruled India, giving it one of the most glorious periods of its history. The Mughal empire did not end until it was finally killed off in 1857 by the British, but its last great emperor was Aurangzeb.

They were remarkable men, these six, each one different and easily lending himself to popular stereotypes. There was Babar the warrior king, the founder; Humayun, good-natured but unlucky, who almost lost his father's kingdom; Akbar the Great, the man who joined together the various cultural and religious strands of India during his reign, thereby creating his own religion; Jahangir, artistic, drunken, troubled, who ruled mainly through his talented wife—the empress Nur Jahan; Shah Jahan, who

brought the empire to a pinnacle of artistic and architectural glory, the creator of the Taj Mahal; and finally Aurangzeb, whose long reign is seen as the watershed for Muslim rule in India and who himself evokes divided loyalties, orthodox Muslims holding him as an example of an ideal ruler, critics calling him a fanatic and pointing out his harsh treatment of his father and brothers.

So Mountbatten's choice was neither random nor illogical. Yet he could also have selected Babar, who after all opened a new chapter of history in India, not unlike Jinnah. The story of Babar—poet, autobiographer, loyal friend and devoted father—was perhaps too triumphal for Mountbatten. But had Mountbatten and his staff done their homework they would have realized their blunder. In suggesting Akbar, Mountbatten was clearly unaware of the impression he was conveying. While his choice may have impressed some modernized Muslims, the majority would have thought it odd. Of the six great Mughal emperors from Babar to Aurangzeb, Akbar is perhaps the one most self-avowedly neutral to Islam. To propose Akbar as an ideal ruler to a newly formed and self-consciously post-colonial Muslim nation was rather like suggesting to a convention of Muslim

writers meeting in Iran or Pakistan in the 1990s that their literary model should be Salman Rushdie.

Akbar was the litmus test for Jinnah. Perhaps a decade before he would have accepted Akbar as a model, but now he rejected the suggestion. In a rebuttal which amounted to a public snub—Mountbatten was after all still the Viceroy of India—Jinnah presented an alternative model. Jinnah in his reply pointed out that Muslims had a more permanent and more inspiring model to follow, that of the Holy Prophet (PBUH):

The tolerance and goodwill that the great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practised.

Jinnah reverted to the themes he had raised only three days earlier. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) had not only created a new state but had laid down the principles on which it could be organized and conducted. These principles were rooted in a compassionate understand-



*Lord Mountbatten takes the salute on the steps of the Constituent Assembly Hall. Lady Mountbatten is next to him, and Miss Jinnah is next to the Quaid*

ing of society and the notions of justice and tolerance. Jinnah emphasized the special treatment the Prophet (PBUH) accorded to the minorities. Morality, piety, human tolerance—a society where colour and race did not matter—the Prophet (PBUH) had laid down a charter for social behaviour thirteen centuries before the United Nations.

It is interesting how even scholars have misread these speeches of Jinnah. In fact, Jinnah's remarks must be seen in the context of Islamic culture and history. Jinnah, conscious that this was one of the last times he would be addressing his people because he was dying, found himself echoing the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) own last message on Mount Arafat. For him too, this was the summing up of his life and his achievements

Jinnah's ideas about Pakistan remained vague. This resulted in both strength and weakness to the Pakistan Movement. It became all things to all men, drawing in a variety of people for different reasons. During the last few years of his life, Jinnah began to sharpen his concept of Pakistan. His speeches emphasized the unequivocal Islamic nature of Pakistan, drawing its inspiration from the Quran and the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

His vision of an Islamic society was one which would be equitable, compassionate and tolerant and from which the poison of corruption, nepotism, mismanagement, and inefficiency would be eradicated and Pakistan would be based on the high principles of Islam. He preached tolerance to and protection of minorities. He opposed Provincialism. He reminded his audiences that Pakistan was the largest Muslim nation in the world and it had a special destiny. Even today, the idea of Pakistan is greater than the reality of the country.

# *The Two Saviours: Ataturk and Jinnah*

MUHAMMAD ALI SIDDIQI

**T**wo names will go down in history as synonymous with the political rebirth of the Muslim world in the twentieth century. Even though they differed in many ways, Mohanmmad Ali Jinnah and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had many qualities and accomplishments in common. Their impact on the world of their time, and subsequently on the fortunes of the Muslim world taken as a political entity, has given them in history a place that no one has so far been able to claim

The emergence of the Turkish republic in the wake of stunning military victories by a side that had been losing constantly for the last 200 years gave an extraordinary boost to the morale of the demoralized Muslim world. The man behind this extraordinary reversal of fortunes was Mustafa Kemal. To Jinnah went the credit for creating the modern world's biggest Muslim country population-wise when he wrested Pakistan out of unwilling hands in one of the twentieth century's most gripping political and human dramas. A comparison, thus, of these two great leaders of the twentieth century should be rewarding.





Both accomplished their missions in the face of overwhelming odds, created a stir in the world by achieving what they did; and were given apt titles by their grateful nations.

Both founded two Muslim states which were unique in their *raison d'être*. Kemal Ataturk founded a Muslim country on a secular basis—something which people then, and many even now consider a contradiction in terms. Jinnah founded a nation on the basis of South Asian Muslims' right to a state of their own. While, in the case of Jinnah, 'Muslimness' was of the essence, in the case of Ataturk what mattered was 'Turkishness'. Ataturk did not emphasize religion because being Ottoman Turks was itself a separate entity: they spoke one language. Jinnah, on the other hand, had to emphasize the Muslims' separateness on the basis of religion, because they did not speak one language. The popular support to both Ataturk and Jinnah stemmed from their respective peoples' pride in their historical background. In the case of the Turks it rested on Ottoman glory; in the case of the Muslims of the subcontinent, it stemmed from the pride they took in Mughal glory—and not only that: they had nearly 1,000 years of Indian Muslim history to fall back upon.

The circumstances surrounding their birth were vastly different, but there was a similarity insofar as their uniqueness was concerned. When Turkey emerged as a republic, there were no truly sovereign Muslim states in the world. Morocco, Egypt and Iran were semi-independent; Saudi Arabia was struggling for international recognition, while Afghanistan was under a joint British-Russian condominium. Turkey was, in a sense, the Muslim world's only sovereign country. When Pakistan emerged on the world map, it was the world's biggest Muslim country. Both the events were epoch-making. In the case of new Turkey, its emergence on the world map marked the triumph of nationalism among Muslims and the rise of Muslim nation-states. The birth of Pakistan, on the other hand, heralded the Muslim nations' endeavour to go back to their roots and emphasize their Islamic character.

The two examples also showed that world history had not written off the Muslims and they were capable of

resilience. In the case of Turkey, its re-emergence came within years of staggering territorial and military losses when friends and foes alike had written off 'the Sick Man of Europe'. As for Pakistan, no one even in his wildest imagination could have hoped in the dark days of 1857 that a Muslim republic would emerge in South Asia within ninety years!

Jinnah and Ataturk had to work against heavy odds. Ataturk had to face the hostility of the victors of the First World War, besides that of its neighbours (except Russia, which was then in the midst of a civil war), while Jinnah had to contend not only with British power and the Hindu majority but also with some leading Muslim personalities on the wrong side. Both shared supreme self-confidence and acted with a firm belief in the justness of their causes. Both were superb tacticians and never missed a chance to exploit the enemy's weaknesses, which they could often anticipate.

The two hated titles and honorifics. Jinnah never aspired for a political office, and when his political adversaries dropped hints that he could become India's first prime minister if he gave up his demand for Pakistan, Jinnah's response was a cold 'no'. And when Gandhi asked him in a letter how he should address him—as Quaid-i-Azam or Mr Jinnah—he replied that he was utterly indifferent to titles. When offered an LLD, *Honoris Causa* by Dr Ziauddin Ahmad, vice-chancellor, Aligarh University, he said he would like to remain 'plain Mr Jinnah'. Similarly, Ataturk spurned an Indian Muslim delegation's suggestion that he assume the title of Caliph, instead of abolishing the caliphate. As a realist he wondered what the fun was in being a titular Caliph of the Muslim world when no government would obey him. As for the title 'Ataturk', he adopted it as a surname only because a law passed by the Grand National Assembly obliged every Turk to have a surname.

Jinnah and Ataturk both were down to earth realists. Both were extremely secular in their outlook and conduct, and despised obscurantism. However, the nature of their struggles was diametrically opposite, because the challenges they faced were different. Ataturk, all along, had military challenges before him; Jinnah had political and constitutional puzzles to

solve. Atatürk faced political problems after he had succeeded militarily; Jinnah, after having won the battle for Pakistan, faced the daunting challenge of securing its survival in the most treacherous circumstances.

Neither Jinnah nor Atatürk ever appeared unsure of the final aim before them. For Jinnah it was one single word 'Pakistan for Muslims!' which his people could understand and for which they could be mobilised and give sacrifices. For Atatürk, the slogan for his people and soldiers was simple: 'Turkey for Turks!' But once their states had come into being, their missions differed. For Atatürk, who went on to live for nearly one and a half decades in his republic, the aim was society's reformation. Jinnah, on the other hand, lived for less than thirteen months in his Pakistan. Atatürk could afford to concentrate on wide-ranging social reforms, because Turkey's enemies had been tackled or were busy in their own quarrels (preparing for the next world war). It is true that it was a new state in the sense that the republic was a new entity. But Atatürk had the advantage of falling back upon Ottoman institutions of governance to concentrate solely on his reform.

Jinnah, on the other, had to build Pakistan from the scratch. Unlike Turkey, Pakistan's enemies in and outside the country had not been tackled. The war was going on in Kashmir and the followers of the Frontier Gandhi in the NWFP and reactionary potentates in Balochistan had not reconciled themselves to Pakistan and were conspiring with New Delhi for undoing the new state. Jinnah, thus, had no respite but to prove himself to be a remarkable state builder as well.

Both Jinnah and Atatürk did not belong to the mainstream. Jinnah's mother-tongue was Gujarati, a language spoken along a small coastal belt in the subcontinent. Atatürk's mother-tongue was, no doubt, Turkish but, strictly speaking, he was a Macedonian; and his place of birth, Salonica, was to remain outside the borders of the republic he created. (There was a move in the Grand National Assembly by his political enemies to enact a law that would forbid anyone not born within the borders of the Turkish republic from taking part in elections. The move was defeated.) But

such was the force of their personalities that none of the mainstreams looked to anyone else to lead them.

Leadership did not come to the Quaid-i-Azam or Atatürk by courtesy. Jinnah was a politician a statesman from the top of his head to the tip of his toe, while Atatürk's military genius had no parallel in his times. As Aga Khan III had said, 'Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life—Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi—Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of these men in my view outshone him in strength of character and in that almost uncanny combination of prescience and resolution which is statecraft.' As for Atatürk, Churchill ranked him 'with the four or five outstanding figures' of the First World War. Jinnah called Atatürk 'the greatest Muslim of the twentieth century'.

In his personal life, Jinnah was reserved and cold; Atatürk was warm, gregarious and unabashedly dissolute. Both suffered failed marriages. But, while Jinnah never had another woman in his life after Ruttie separated and died, Atatürk had innumerable women of all hues in his life. Jinnah had no son but a daughter, while Atatürk had no issue, except an adopted daughter. Even though gregarious himself, Atatürk made his republic look inwards. Its foreign policy has always been in low key, and it has shown little enthusiasm for Muslim causes. Jinnah, on the other hand, did not have time to give Pakistan a clear direction in foreign policy but subsequent events have shown that one of the chief characteristics of the state he founded is a high-profile foreign policy and over-enthusiasm for causes beyond its borders.

In another respect Jinnah differed with Atatürk. The latter's political career was short, but Jinnah's political career spanned a cataclysmic era not just for South Asia but for the world. He saw the First World War, the inter-war period, the rise of fascism in Europe and Japan, the Second World War, and its aftermath that included the epic struggle of the people of South Asia for freedom. As the recognised leader of the subcontinent's Muslims, his concerns were confined not to the Muslims of South Asia but Muslims worldwide. This aspect of his political career has not received due attention for the obvious reason that the scholars' focus has been on his struggle for creating Pakistan.



That explains why Z.H. Zaidi's *Jinnah Papers* and W. Ahmad's *The Nation's Voice* dwell largely on those aspects of Jinnah's speeches, statements, press conferences, interviews and letters which mostly relate to the constitutional and political battles he waged for carving out a sovereign Muslim state in South Asia. However, Mehrunnisa Ali's *Jinnah on World Affairs* reveals the stunning variety of international issues on which Jinnah articulated his position, first as the undisputed leader of the Muslims of South Asia and later as Pakistan's head of state.

The letters he wrote range from protests on the condition of Indians in South Africa, Kenya and Congo to 'Prussian militarism', Turkey and the Caliphate issue, the Palestinian question in its various phases, leading finally to its partition, the Indonesian people's struggle for freedom, the situation in Malaya, Egypt's fight for full statehood, the French atrocities in post-war Syria, the use of Indian Muslim troops against Islamic countries, the British-Russian occupation of Iran, his cautious attitude towards Russia during the war and a host of other issues which he thought would affect Pakistan when it would finally emerge on the world map.

The variety of statesmen and leaders he corresponded with is amazing both before and after independence. They included Palestinian leader Amin el-Hussaini, Ahmad Sukarno, Attlee, Chiang Kai-shek, Churchill, Harold Macmillan, Ibne Saud, Nihal Pasha, President Truman and others. These letters were not merely of a formal nature, say, thanking world leaders who greeted him when Pakistan came into being and he became the Governor-General; the greater part of his letters, statements, telegrams and the interviews he gave to a variety of foreign journalists before and after partition relates to issues vital to Pakistan's security. In some cases the letters touched upon Pakistan's defence problems even when it had not yet emerged on the world map.

Going by the contents of the letters and their sheer numbers, one is overwhelmed by the fact that this task should have been undertaken by a man who was so close to death. No one in that state of health could perhaps have undertaken the task he did without having the kind of will-power Jinnah possessed. The documents, arranged in chronological order in the

Mehrunnisa book show on the one hand the determined attempts that Congress leaders, especially Nehru, made with full support from Mountbatten to destroy Pakistan at its very inception and, on the other, the moves Jinnah made to frustrate those conspiracies.

Visualise this scenario: the Maharajah of Kashmir is conspiring with New Delhi with a view to managing the Muslim-majority state's accession to India; Afghanistan votes against Pakistan for a UN membership and expresses reservations about the NWFP becoming part of Pakistan, Radcliffe and Mountbatten steal Ferozpur from Pakistan, New Delhi refuses to abide by the terms of the transfer of power agreement and declines to hand over Pakistan's share of ordnance to it, India is massing troops on Junagadh's borders and preparing for military action in Kashmir, the Khan of Kalat dithers over accession to Pakistan, Burma expresses concern over Pakistan's possible claim to a piece of territory adjacent to East Pakistan, while millions of refugees pour into the country as religious frenzy engulfs the subcontinent. It was then that Jinnah, his health falling, proved himself to be a man of indomitable courage and energy, for without the presence of this 'giant'—Beverly Nichols's word—it is doubtful Pakistan would have survived the conspiracies launched by its enemies to destroy the newly created state in the first few weeks or months of independence.

Saving Pakistan from collapse during the 13 months that he lived after 1947, building the new state's administrative infrastructure and placing Pakistan on the world's diplomatic map constituted as great an achievement on his part as that of creating Pakistan. This aspect of Jinnah's life has not received the attention it deserves.

After the Aga Khan quote given above, I think one of the finest tributes to Jinnah—and which in a sense sums up his greatness—comes from Stanley Wolpert, one of his biographers. Says he, 'Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three.'—Courtesy *Dawn*

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# Reminiscences

JAVID IQBAL



One of the most precious memories of my life is meeting the great Jinnah at 4 p.m. on 11 June 1936 while I was 12 years, 4 months and 6 days old. On the morning of 11 June 1936, my father Allama Muhammad Iqbal, called me in his bedroom and directed me to be present in the drawing room at 4 p.m. along with my autograph book. While father knew I possessed an autograph book, this was the only time in my life he ordered me to bring it before his expected guest. It not only indicated the respect and admiration in which he held his guest, he wanted his next generation also to extend the same degree of respect and admiration to him. Curiously I asked 'Who is coming Abbajan?' The brief answer was 'The leader of the Muslims.' I did not quite understand what he said as I had never heard of any leader of the Muslims. In those days, Jinnah was not known as the Quaid-i-Azam. Perhaps no one even knew him as M.A. Jinnah in the Punjab.

What was the background of his visit with my father on that day? Equipped with his Fourteen Points, Jinnah had attended the First Round Table Conference



in London in November 1930, which the Muslim delegation hoped would be incorporated into the future constitution of India. Iqbal was not invited to attend the Conference, but during the same year at the meeting of the Muslim League Council held on 13 July 1930, Jinnah's proposal of Iqbal being made the president of the All-India Muslim League session 1930 was unanimously adopted. The session of the All-India Muslim League which was presided over by Iqbal was eventually held at Allahabad on 29 December 1930. In his presidential address Iqbal stated that if the Fourteen Points of Jinnah were not incorporated in the future constitution of India, he would go a step further and propose the creation of an amalgamated state consisting of the Punjab, Sindh, the Frontier Province and Balochistan, as the national homeland of the Muslims of North-west India. He also declared that this amalgamated state was the destiny of 'at least' the Muslims of that region.

The Muslim demands or the Fourteen Points of Jinnah were considered and rejected by the Hindu leaders at the conference. During the sessions of the conference, a remarkable change was noticed in Jinnah as his 'despondent mood' became palpable. He observed: 'I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that Mr Jinnah is never tired of Hindu-Muslim unity', and continued 'but I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In face of danger the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity'. In 'utter helplessness', he could neither change the Hindu mentality nor make the Muslims realize their precarious position. Despairingly he decided to give up politics and to permanently settle in England. This sense of gloom and doom disturbed Jinnah's mind for almost four or five years of his stay in England. Similar sentiments had been expressed by some other Muslim leaders who at one time or the other upheld the nationalist cause of India. But Jinnah's case was different as he was much more liberal and broadminded than any other Muslim leader. If a liberal and broadminded leader like him could be so disillusioned with the Hindu leaders' attitude and find refuge in Muslim political 'conservatism', it implied that there remained not the

slightest possibility of a compromise and understanding between the Muslims and Hindus of India

It is not clear who eventually succeeded in persuading Jinnah to return to India. Scholars have advanced the names of different eminent personalities who begged him to return. But perhaps the matter for him to decide was what he was expected to do in India after the rejection of his Fourteen Points. However, there is evidence to suggest that in 1931-2 while Iqbal attended the Second and Third Round Table Conferences, he met Jinnah a couple of times and requested him to return to reorganize the All-India Muslim League as a mass movement, with a new political agenda recommended by him in the Allahabad address. Jinnah returned to India in 1934 and described his political situation as: 'Having no sanction behind me I was in the position of a beggar and received the treatment that a beggar deserves'. He condemned the federation at the centre, but accepted the Provincial Scheme of Autonomy. Finally in early 1936 under his presidency the All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was created and Jinnah travelled all over India to establish Provincial Boards. It was in this connection that he visited Lahore and met Sir Fazl-i-Hussam, the founder leader of the Unionist Party in the Punjab, to explore if there was any possibility of his party's collaboration with the League in the forthcoming elections. But Sir Fazl-i-Hussain did not have a good opinion of Jinnah, as is indicated in the entry dated 2 March 1936 of his published personal diary and subsequently in his letter addressed to his successor Sir Sikandar Hayat. On 11 June 1936, Jinnah came to consult Iqbal as to what should be done.

When I entered the drawing room of our house at 4 p.m. on that day, I saw a very smart, tall and thin gentleman sitting on the sofa along with my father. On the next sofa was seated also a tall and thin lady in an elegant white sari. The gentleman wore a flawless well-tailored cream-coloured silk suit. I did not notice the colour of his necktie but he definitely wore white socks and brown and white coloured shoes. I silently advanced the autograph book towards the gentleman. He took out a pen from the inner pocket of his jacket and while signing his name in the autograph book glanced at me with his sharp eyes.

Then with a mischievous smile on his face, he asked: 'Do you also write poetry?' 'No sir!' I answered. But suddenly followed the next question: 'Then what are you going to do when you grow up?' I did not know what to say and therefore remained silent. The gentleman turned towards my father and laughing casually remarked: 'He doesn't answer?' 'He won't answer', replied my father emphatically. 'He is waiting for you to tell him what he is to do.' Since my autograph book had been signed, I quietly left the room.

Jinnah appointed Iqbal president of Punjab Provincial Muslim League and of the Provincial Board, and Iqbal accepted these responsibilities despite his numerous ailments. During the last days of Iqbal, Jinnah had called a meeting of the League at Calcutta in which Sir Sikandar Hayat, the leader of the Unionist Party, also participated. Iqbal had certain apprehensions about the sincerity of Sir Sikandar and his group of the Punjab rural leaders. Therefore even on his death bed, he was warning Jinnah through different means to take care before signing the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. A correspondence had started between Iqbal and Jinnah which lasted until the death of Iqbal on 21 April 1938. This correspondence was subsequently published by Jinnah and in it he refers to Iqbal as a friend and guide who firmly stood like a rock by his side in the darkest days of the Muslim League. Two years after Iqbal's death, on 23 March 1940, the Pakistan Resolution was passed in the Minto Park (now Iqbal Park) Lahore, not far from the site where Iqbal is buried. Turning his face to the grave of Iqbal, Jinnah remarked to his secretary Matlub ul Hassan: 'Had Iqbal been alive today, he would have been very happy as we have done exactly what he wanted.'

I as a student also, like the rest, attended the public meetings addressed by Quaid-i-Azam in Lahore. We also fought against the repressive measures adopted by the Khizar government against the Muslim League movement in the Punjab. During this phase, probably in 1946, two of my articles were published in *Dawn*; one on 'Quaid-i-Azam as a Great Man' and the other on 'Pakistan and Islam'. In the article on Quaid-i-Azam, being a student of English and European Literature as well as Islamic Philosophy, if I remember correctly, I compared his leadership qualities with the

literary and philosophical models: 'Perfect Man' (*Insan-e-Kamil*) of Al-Jailli, 'Unique Man' (*Mutavvahid*) of Ibn Bajja, 'Super Man' (*Uber Mensch*) of Nietzsche and 'Over Man' of Johnson, and concluded that he was an extraordinary person. In the article 'Pakistan and Islam' my thesis was that the Pakistan Movement was not based on 'conventional' but on 'reformist Islam'. It is a matter of great pride for me that Quaid-i-Azam took notice of both these articles and I was specifically informed by one of his secretaries that he appreciated my efforts in projecting the Muslim nationalist cause. I was in Karachi on the evening of 11 September 1948 when Quaid-i-Azam breathed his last and I was one of the mourners in his long funeral procession.

Quaid-i-Azam was a man of action. He was able to raise the Muslims, whom he had formerly described as being in 'no man's land' into a position where they held the 'balance of power' between the British and the Hindus. He performed a miracle by transforming a dream into a reality. Had he not led the Muslims, Pakistan would not have been created. All the previous religiously motivated political movements of the Muslims in the subcontinent, e.g. the Wahabi Movement, the Khilafat Movement etc., had failed in achieving their objectives, whereas the Pakistan Movement, also motivated by Islam, was successful. Why, given that it was opposed by the Hindus, the British and the majority of the Ulema? The Ulema opposed it because they thought that the movement was not based on the conventional interpretation of Islam. An eminent Deobandi, Alam Maulana Najmuddin Islahi, wrote that 'the' Islam on which the concept of Pakistan is founded was the other name of the philosophy of Iqbal. Iqbal was a 'reconstructionist' because he believed in the 'Reconstruction of the Religious Thought in Islam'. Who is a 'reconstructionist'? A 'reconstructionist' is described by the late Professor Iqbal Ahmad as 'one who seeks to blend convention into modernity in an effort to reform society.'

Nearly sixty years have passed since the death of Quaid-i-Azam. Whenever I am asked to deliver a lecture on Pakistan's ideology, the new generation of Muslim students frequently asks me: 'Conceded that Quaid-i-Azam was a Muslim. Was he a conventionalist,



or a reconstructionist or a secularist?' I tell them Quaid-i-Azam perceived Pakistan as a democratic welfare state. He did not believe in discrimination between Muslims and non-Muslims as citizens of the state. He respected human rights, civil liberties and rule of law. He defined in his statements the role of the military to defend the frontiers of the country. According to his interpretation, these principles were not repugnant to Islam. He reminded the students of the Aligarh Muslim University on 18 October 1940 of the responsibility of the coming generation to establish a progressive and liberal Muslim nation in the subcontinent. He was deeply concerned with the deplorable conditions in which Muslim women had to live and he stood for their emancipation. While addressing the students of Anglo-Arabic College in Delhi, he proclaimed on 3 February, 1938:

Having freed ourselves from the clutches of the British government, the Congress, and the reactionaries or the so called Maulvis, may I appeal to the youth to emancipate our women. This is essential. I do not mean that we are to ape the evils of the West. What I mean is that they must share our life not only social but also political.

I tell the boys and girls 'In the light of what I have stated, you are free to fix the portrait of Quaid-i-Azam in any frame you like—conventionalist, reconstructionist or secularist.' I also tell them that since my childhood, I have been conditioned to idealize him. Guess what I think he was!

# *The Dialectics of Faith, Unity, and Discipline*

PERVEZ HOODBHOY

Honourable Ladies and Gentlemen, 'Faith, Unity, Discipline'. These three words are emblazoned on national logos everywhere, found in every government office, and written even on many hilltops across Pakistan. You will find them in textbooks and they have been chanted with almost religious fervour by school children for decades.

But what do these words actually mean?

Even before we try to interpret what Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, really meant, let us ask what was the correct order of these words? Was it faith '*Faith, Unity, Discipline*' or '*Unity, Faith, Discipline*'? This might seem a fairly trivial point but in a country where obsessive importance has been attached to Jinnah's every utterance, many have come to suspect some deep Machiavellian design behind one or the other choice. The good news is that there is no such conspiracy! Jinnah used sometimes one and sometimes the other, and sometimes even both sequences in the same speech as for example, in:



We are going through fire: the sunshine has yet to come. But I have no doubt that with unity, faith and discipline we will not only remain the fifth largest State in the world but will compare with any nation of the world. Are you prepared to undergo the fire?

We are passing through a period of fear, danger and menace. We must have faith, unity and discipline.

Whatever the order of the words—the motto that Jinnah bequeathed to his countrymen has been of extraordinary import. Military generals, even as they have dragged our country through war and defeat, coups, and land expropriations, have wanted common Pakistanis to maintain faith in their leadership, keep unity in the ranks, and march according to martial discipline. Those who yearn for a state that emphasizes religion even more have also put their own spin, stressing that faith means faith in Islam. Of course, no one can know definitely what Mr Jinnah meant—it is impossible to know another person's mind exactly.

In my opinion, rather than second guess, it is more interesting to creatively re-interpret, using dialectical reasoning, what this famous motto *should* mean in the context of today's Pakistan.

Dialectics may be an unfamiliar word to some, but it has a long history. In Asia, the idea that everything is made of opposites—*yin* and *yang*—dates back to the Chinese around 3,000 years ago. In post-Enlightenment Europe dialectics became a process of logical reasoning, especially associated with Hegel, of arriving at the truth by stating a thesis, developing a contradictory antithesis, and combining and resolving them into a coherent synthesis. Some of us here—especially those who have read the works of Marx and Engels—have associated dialectics with dialectical materialism with polar opposites being capitalism and socialism, the bourgeois class versus the working class, etc. But, for my purposes, I would like to understand dialectics as a kind of conversation between opposites that teases out of them their respective arguments, demonstrates tensions, but also creates synthesis.

Let me start with Faith. This is something one 'believes in'. It is really a part of human nature, made necessary because biological evolution demanded this feature for increasing our survivability in a rough-and-tough world. Without a shared set of beliefs, a

group would lack cohesion and fall to bits. Faith helps a group meet the challenges of a hostile environment and compete against other groups. It turns an amorphous group of discontented and aimless people into a powerful force working towards a common goal. Islam's great achievements during its early centuries would surely have been impossible without a shared faith

Having faith means we voluntarily agree to suspend judgment and our critical faculties. Humans cannot function unless they accept assumptions that are not immediately testable and verifiable. Otherwise, like an irritating child, one ends up questioning everything. Even science—which is normally assumed to be beyond faith—requires a certain kind of faith. Personally, I have never seen the 60 moons of Jupiter but am willing to accept their existence on faith because I know that, at least in principle, someone else can do it. And when I swallow a medicine or have something injected into my veins, there is an implicit faith that it has been done on others and found beneficial

But there is a downside to faith. Uncritical acceptance of what you are told can be disastrous. It is fine to tell children about the tooth fairy. On the other hand, if adults start taking such things seriously then that could be the sign of dementia!

All religions are based on faith. And so here too there is a downside. Since this is such a terribly sensitive issue in Pakistan, perhaps I should avoid talking about faith in religion and stop right here. But it is a fact that religion determines what large numbers of our countrymen live for, and what they will die for, and—all too often—what they will kill for. So we cannot afford to avoid the subject when the stakes are as high as they are today. The choice is between conversation and violence

This question of what is really the right faith pits one faithful Muslim against another in bitter disputation. Even as I speak here, Parachinar is ablaze as Sunnis and Shias fire rockets at each other's villages in tribal Pakistan, and suicide car bombers leave charred corpses across Baghdad. The very fact that there is serious disagreement even among believers of the same faith—not to speak of faiths hostile to each

other—means that there cannot be only one single truth in religion.

So faith—though it can be good—badly needs correction. Scepticism is the natural dialectical partner of faith. Scepticism uses critical judgment to separate true from false. We need scepticism just as much as we need faith because without active, thinking minds, there cannot be a capacity for good judgment. And, without good judgment an individual or a nation will blunder from one mistake on to the next. As a man of high intellect, Mr Jinnah could not have meant blind faith but, rather, one that is tempered by just the right amount of good judgment and scepticism.

Now let us move on to Unity. Mr Jinnah surely meant unity in the populace of a country because this is what can build nations and make them strong by fashioning disparate peoples into having common goals

But there is a flip side here too. Pakistan is a multi-ethnic, multi-national state. A common religion is just one element of many that goes towards making a nation. Pakistan's four provinces have different histories, class and societal structures, climates, and natural resources. Within them live Sunnis, Shias, Bohris, Ismailis, Ahmadis, Zikris, Hindus, Christians, and Parsis. Then there are tribal and caste divisions which are far too numerous to mention. Add to this all the different languages and customs as well as different modes of worship, rituals, and holy figures. Liberals—who are rather nice people in general—often talk of the need for tolerance in dealing with the 'other'. But I don't like this at all. Tolerance merely says that you are nice enough to put up with a bad thing. Instead, let us accept and even celebrate the differences!

So unity desperately needs its dialectical partner—diversity. Nations are eventually built when diversity is accepted, just as communities are built when individuals can be themselves and yet work for and with each other. If we want unity in the face of diversity, then the majority must stop trying to force itself upon the minorities. Most crucially, the state must stop acting on behalf of the majority. It is imperative that all Pakistanis be declared equal citizens in every way—which is not the case today.

Unfortunately, the Constitution of Pakistan does not accept this. It must be changed to reflect this.

For sixty years we have feared diversity and insisted on unity. But Pakistan paid a very heavy price because our leaders could not understand that a heterogeneous population can live together only if differences are respected. The imposition of Urdu upon Bengal in 1948 was a tragic mistake, and the first of a sequence of missteps that led up to the awful slaughter of Bengalis by the West Pakistani army in 1971.

And, finally, let us move to Discipline. Our rulers have wanted it to be understood as forcible regimentation. But in those of Jinnah's speeches that I have encountered, he appears to have meant this trait in the sense of adherence to the laws of the land. Clearly, without discipline, the rule of law is impossible and hence a civilized society is impossible. We feel disgust at those who litter freely, race against ambulances, break traffic laws with impunity and endanger lives, wantonly destroy trees and greenery, etc. So discipline is an excellent quality to have, and Jinnah was correct to have emphasized it.

But the other side of discipline is Freedom: today this is in extremely short supply. The Talibanization of Pakistan is the antithesis of freedom, a crushing blow to the human spirit and a re-tribalization of society. The freedom of Pakistani women is under bitter attack. This year there were 1,400 reported honour killings. In much of rural Pakistan a woman is likely to be spat upon, beaten, or killed for being friendly to a man or even showing to him her face. Newspaper readers expect—and get—a steady daily diet of stories about women raped, mutilated, or strangled to death by their fathers, husbands, and brothers.

Energetic proselytizers like Farhat Hashmi have made deep inroads even into the urban middle and upper classes. They never talk about honour killings. Instead they want to put women back into the home and kitchen, exclude them from public life, and destroy ideas of women's equality with men. A woman minister of the ruling party was recently killed by a fanatic for being un-Islamically dressed, another threatened with death for being photographed while hugging a man after para-gliding... Pakistani society sinks to lower moral depths even as its collective piety





increases by the day and the faithful fill the mosques.

I conclude: sixty years is not long in the life of a nation, but it is time enough to learn from grievous mistakes. As times change, needs change. So must slogans and mottos. So let us move on.

Yes: Faith, Unity, and Discipline are fine.

But, let us say hurrah to Scepticism, Diversity, Freedom!

I am sure that the great Mr Jinnah would not mind the addition.

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*This essay is excerpted from a lecture delivered in Karachi in 2007 at the invitation of the Jinnah Society, in cooperation with the Oxford University Press, Pakistan.*

*The author is a Professor at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad*

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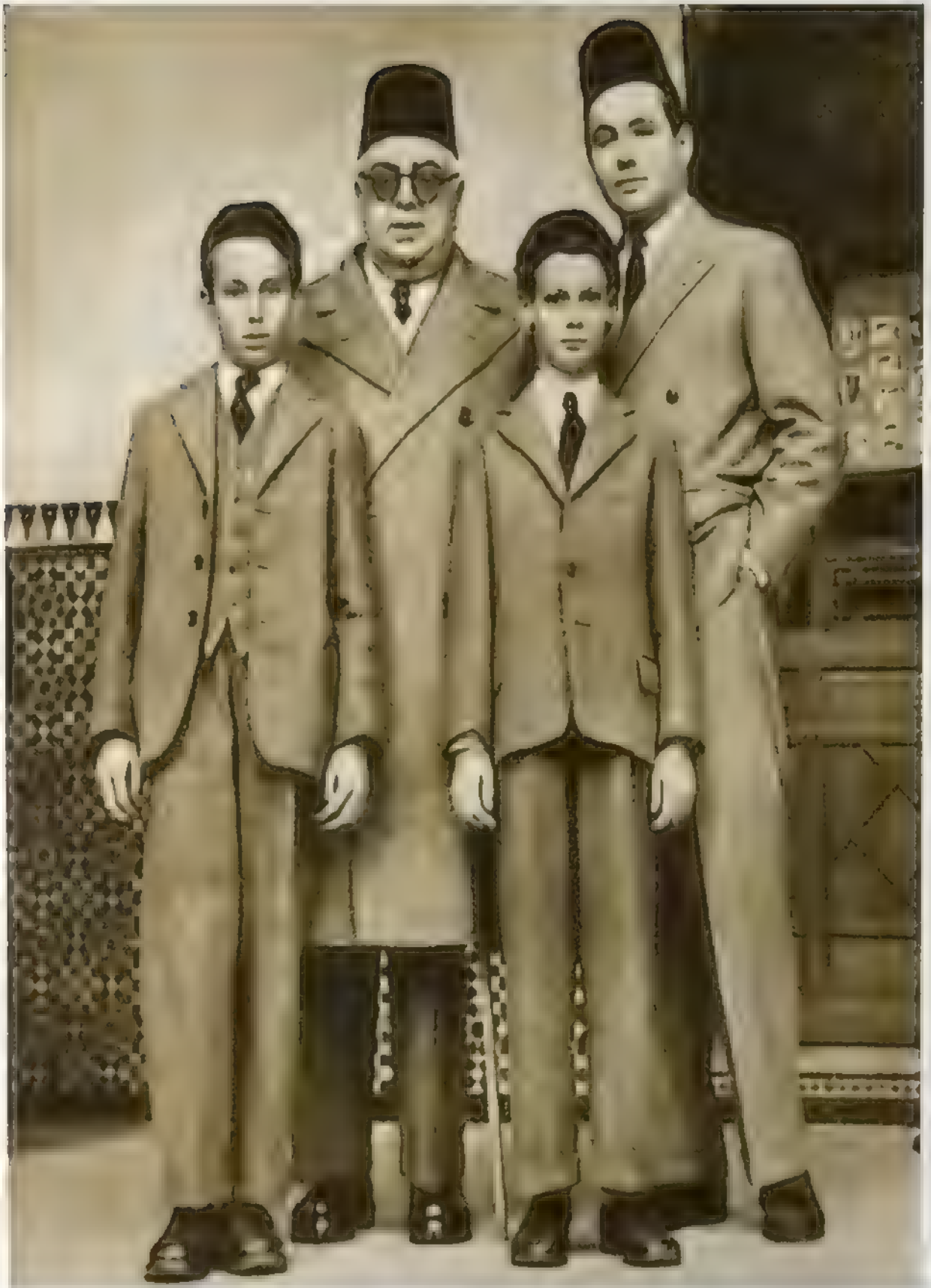
# *Jinnah as seen by Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah the Aga Khan III*

LIAQUAT H. MERCHANT

No study on Jinnah would be complete without taking into consideration the views expressed by the late Aga Khan III for he like Jinnah was an outstanding Muslim leader of the subcontinent and played a very important role in the struggle for the liberation of the Muslims of India and the ultimate aim of achieving political and economic independence.

Jinnah was born in a Khoja Ismaili family in Karachi. The Aga Khan was the spiritual leader of the Ismaili Muslims but on his return to India after qualifying at the bar, Jinnah parted ways as he did not embrace the concept of a practicing Khoja Ismaili. Two of Jinnah's sisters, Rehmatabai and Mariambai, were given in marriage to Sunnis while Shirinbai was given in marriage to an Ismaili. His brother Ahmad Jinnah embraced the Sunni faith but Jinnah indicated his aversion to any sectarian faith or belief and preferred to consider himself as a simple Muslim. Fatima Jinnah followed the same view by declining to subscribe to any sectarian view and is reported to have declared that she was neither a Shia nor a Sunni but only a Muslim. Notwithstanding the parting of ways, the Aga





Left to right: Prince Sultan, Prince Karim Al Saud, Prince Ahmed Al Saud, Prince Sultan



Khan embraced Jinnah and this showed his greatness. They worked together on various fronts and dealt with the British and the Indian on their own terms. They respected each other and their goals were common.

The Aga Khan III publicly praised Jinnah for his leadership qualities. In his memoirs published by Cassell and Company, London in 1954 the Aga Khan referred to Jinnah stating thus:

The Quaid-i-Azam's brilliant and epoch-making career, so untimely ended, reached its summit in these momentous years of 1946 and 1947. Now he belongs to history; and his memory, I am certain, is imperishable. Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life—Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi—Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of these men in my view outshone him in strength of character, and in that almost uncanny combination of prescience and resolution which is statecraft.

It may be argued that he was luckier than some—far luckier for example, than Mussolini, who perished miserably in utter failure and disgrace. But was Jinnah's success all good luck, and was Mussolini's failure all bad luck? What about the factors of good and bad judgment?

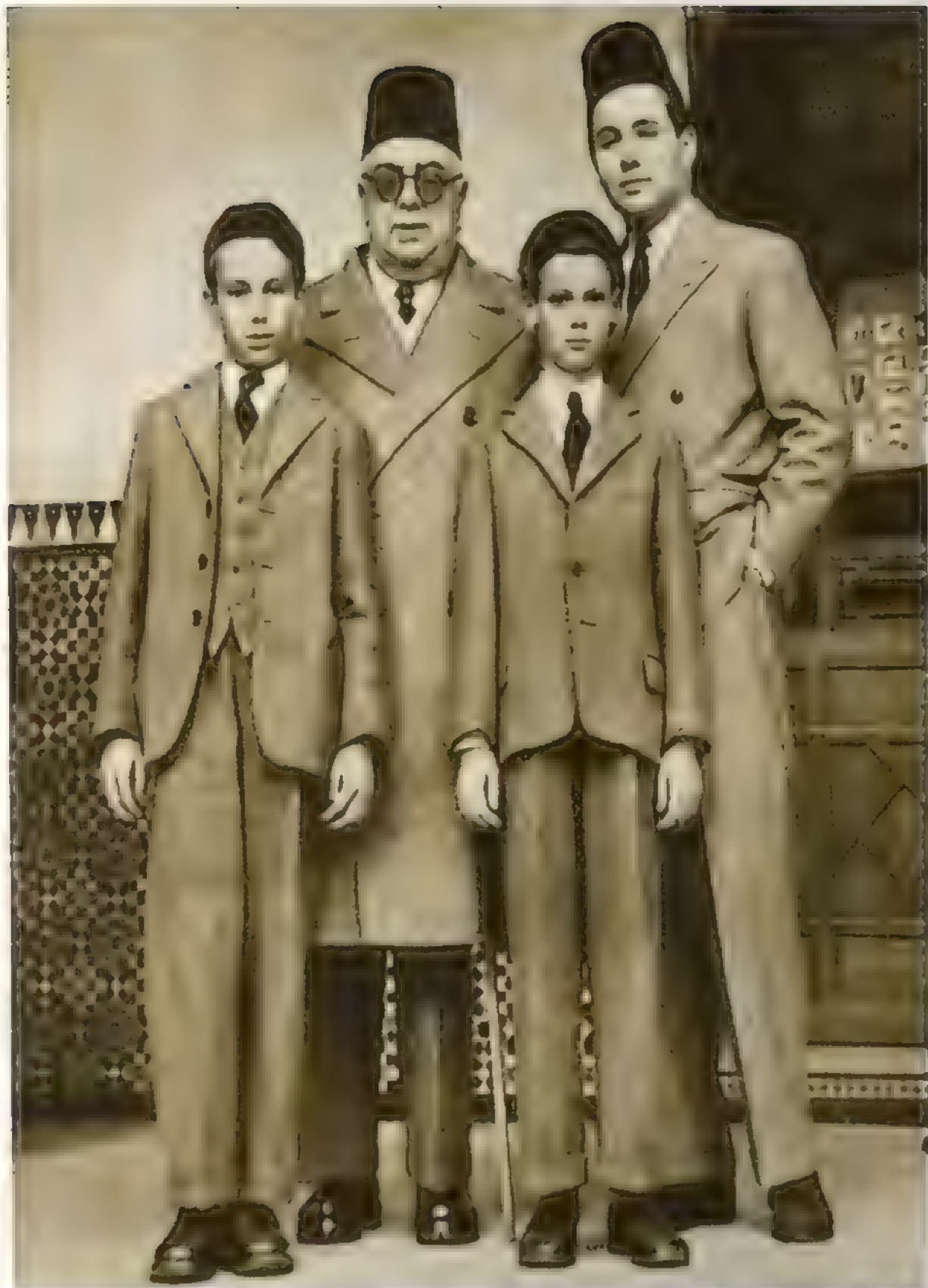
I knew Jinnah for years, from the time he came back from England to Bombay to build up his legal practice there, until his death. Mussolini, I met once only; and a memorable occasion it was—an afternoon in his box at the race course in Rome, when he harangued me for the best part of three hours, in very good English, and curiously, for one who was such a 'loudspeaker' in public, in a soft and gentle voice, but never once looking at the races or the people in the stands or on the course, and never allowing me either to watch a race or open my mouth to argue with him. Yet between these two I detect one important similarity.

Each of them between his youth and his prime, travelled from one pole of political opinion to the other. Mussolini made his pilgrimage from a Socialism that was near Communism to the creation of Fascism, from Marx to Nietzsche and Sorel. Jinnah in his earlier phases was the strongest supporter, among all Muslim political leaders, of Indian nationalism along Congress lines, with its goal of a unified Indian state; yet, he, in the final analysis, was

the man primarily responsible for the partition of the Indian Empire into the separate states of Pakistan and Bharat. He who had so long championed Indian unity was the man who, in full accordance with international law, cut every possible link between India's two halves, and—in the teeth of bitter British opposition—divided the Indian Army.

Jinnah throughout his career displayed a similar characteristic. He would admit no superior to himself in intellect, authority, or moral stature. He knew no limitations of theory or doctrine. The determined and able young barrister, who—against all the omens, without influence, and without inherited wealth—triumphed within a few years despite entrenched opposition, became an Indian nationalist when he turned to politics. He joined Congress because he, like the Congress politicians, wanted to liberate India from British colonial and imperialist domination, and because he believed that he himself could do it if he had a free hand.

Yet in association with Congress Jinnah was a fish out of water. He worked to be the champion of Indian liberty, but his ideas of championship differed sharply from those of Congress's other leaders. He came back and rejoined those to whom he was linked by ties of race and religion. Nominally in the Muslim League of those days he was one leader among others, but he was unable to impose his beliefs and his policy, for the general tenor of Muslim thought ran strongly contrary to the convictions which he had held when he was in the Congress camp. He had worked hard and energetically for Congress; but, from his point of view, he was dogged by failure after failure. There was too deep a gulf between his concept of the duties and responsibilities of a political leader in a free society and those of the people with whom he worked. The instruments which he took up broke every time in his hands, because it was impossible to reconcile policy as he conceived it with policy hammered out by compromise and negotiation in the committees and the councils of which he found himself a member. He met barrier after barrier and his frustration and his dissatisfaction deepened. His 'point of no return' was, of course, the critical Congress meeting in Calcutta in December 1928, dominated by the Nehrus, father and son. His disillusionment and disappointment there led him to the conviction that Muslims had no chance of fair and equitable treatment in a United India.



Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz, Prince Karim Aga and Prince Ayni Mahomed

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I here reaffirm that at the Round Table Conferences Jinnah played a loyal and honourable part throughout, as a member of the Muslim delegation. His work there, however, had not shaken his faith in his own means to his own end. The Muslims' sense of their own political needs and aspirations had been fortified and developed by years of discussion and negotiation with British officials and Congress representatives, and the Muslims very rightly followed and gave their full confidence to Jinnah

In an era in which 'no compromise' was coming to be the mood of something like a hundred million Muslims, Jinnah, the man who did not know the meaning of the word 'compromise', was there to seize—not only on his own behalf, but on behalf of those whom he was destined to lead—the chance of a lifetime, the chance perhaps of centuries. He embodied, as no one else could do, the beliefs and sentiments of the overwhelming majority of Muslims all over India.

I myself am convinced that even as late as 1946 Jinnah had no clear and final idea of his goal, no awareness that he would, within a twelve month, be the founder of a new nation, a Muslim Great Power such as the world has not seen for centuries. Neither he nor anyone else could have imagined that fate was to put so magnificent, so incredible an opportunity into his hands as that which occurred in the crucial phases of the negotiations with the British Cabinet Mission, and gave him the initiative when Lord Mountbatten arrived. Pakistan was born a new nation, with the fifth largest population in the world, of whom ninety per cent are Muslims. And it was the creation of an organization which had only one guiding principle: 'Follow the leader'.

Jinnah, as I shall shortly relate, made the right choice at the right moment. How different might Mussolini's end have been, had he, when the supreme moment came, chosen right instead of wrong. For him there waited a criminal's end, humiliation and ignominy. Jinnah on the other hand attained immortal fame as the man who, without an army, navy, or air force, created, by a lifetime's faith in himself crystallized into a single bold decision, a great empire of upwards of a hundred million people

K.K. Aziz in his introduction to the book *Selected Speeches and Writings of Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah (1902–1927)* published by Kegan Paul International, London and New York, has stated that the Aga Khan

III reserved the highest praise for Jinnah by stating that the creation of Pakistan would have been inconceivable without his 'Iron Will and Lion Courage'. According to the Aga Khan, Jinnah took a crucial decision in accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan when it was offered to India while Congress leaders rejected it and put forward dubious and equivocal alternative suggestions which watered down the scheme so that it lost its meaning and effectiveness. Jinnah stood rock-like and in that one decision combining as it did sagacity, shrewdness, and unequalled political flair, he justified. Aga Khan III remarked 'I am convinced that he was the most remarkable of all great statesmen that I have known. It puts him on a level with Bismarck'. (*Memoirs of the Aga Khan, 1954*).

Qayyum A. Malick in his book *Prince Aga Khan, Guide, Philosopher and Friend of the World of Islam* has reproduced a tribute by the Aga Khan to the memory of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah whom he called 'essentially a modern man'. According to Qayyum A. Malick the Aga Khan said.

While his memory will remain, I am sure, in the hearts of the people of this country as well as the general body of Muslims throughout the world, yet a useful memorial of the kind that will help Pakistan to become what he dreamt and what Muslims generally dream, will be a humble way of our paying homage to his creative work. A simple dignified marble mausoleum, taking inspiration from the Moti Masjid of Delhi Fort, should be our first objective. Next to that, a large mosque with plenty of open space, taking inspiration from the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore and worthy of Karachi by its size and proportion. There will also be a Darul Ulum, Islamic historical and religious research institute, based on an Arabic conception. And last, but by no means the least, is an Institute of Technology. These four institutions would, in my opinion, form a fitting memorial to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

S.M. Ikram in his book *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan (1868–1951)* published by the Institute of Islamic Culture, Club Road, Lahore, has observed that the value which Muslim leaders attached to Jinnah's views, powers and intellect can be seen in letters written to him by Aga Khan who was the leader of the Muslim delegation. Jinnah and





*His Highness the Aga Khan in the garden of Vali-Yak-mo at near Cairo*

Aga Khan attended earlier Round Table Conferences but Jinnah was not invited to the Third Round Table Conference. However the delegates requested him to attend informally and help them by his advice. Jinnah attended some meetings and the value attached to his participation was regarded by the Aga Khan III in a letter to Jinnah as follows:

My dear Jinnah,

We specially missed you much this afternoon—you know how much I rely on your cold common-sense judgment. A great deal of our unity is due to the dissecting which wild schemes get from your criticisms. Hope on important meetings you may come. We have 5 new Moslem members. Till they come into government we will need you more than ever

Yours very sincerely,

Aga Khan

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*The author is President of the Jinnah Society, Managing Trustee of the Jinnah Foundation and Executive Trustee of Quaid-i-Azam Ahgarh Education Trust*

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## *Section 2*

# *Quotes from the Quaid*

## A DEMOCRATIC AND ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION FOR PAKISTAN

The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions...as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case, Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State—to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims—Hindus, Christians, and Parsis—but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.

*Broadcast to the people of USA, February 1948*

## ADVICE TO STUDENTS

My young friends, students who are present here, let me tell you as one who has always had love and affection for you, who has served you for ten years faithfully and loyally, let me give you this word of warning: you will be making the greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be exploited by one political party or another.... Your main occupation should be—in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the State—to devote your attention to your studies.

*Address, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

## BLACK-MARKETING A CRIME

A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime.... These black-marketeers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation

of...essential commodities, and cause...starvation and want and even death.

*Address, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Karachi, 11 August 1947*

## CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO CHANGE GOVERNMENT

These ministers are, truly speaking, your servants and you are their virtual masters. You have got the key to remove them from their ministerial *gaddi*, if they no longer remain alive to their responsibilities.

*Lahore, 2 April 1944*

## CONSTITUTIONALLY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT FOR PAKISTAN

With the removal of foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any Government that they may choose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day. The Government and its policy may be changed by the votes of the elected representatives....

*Broadcast, Radio Pakistan, Dacca, 28 March 1948*

## CORRUPTION, A CURSE

Corruption is a curse in India and amongst Muslims, especially the so-called educated and intelligentsia. Unfortunately, it is this class that is selfish and morally and intellectually corrupt. No doubt this disease is common, but amongst this particular class of Muslims it is rampant.

*M.A. Jinnah to Ispahani, 6 May 1945*

## DANGERS OF PROVINCIALISM—SECTIONALISM

So what is the use of saying, 'We are Bengalis, or Sindhis, or Pathans, or Punjabis.' No, we are Muslims. Islam has taught us this, and I think you will agree with me, that whatever else you may be and whatever



you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a Nation now; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. ...Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism—Shia, Sunni, etc.

It was no concern of our predecessor Government; it was no concern of theirs to worry about it; they were here to carry on the administration, maintain law and order, and to carry on their trade and exploit India as much as they could. But now we are in a different position altogether... Well, there they were. They had many difficulties. But mind you, their nations were actually in existence and they were great nations; whereas you had nothing. You have got Pakistan only now. But there a Frenchman could say 'I am a Frenchman and belong to a great nation', and so on. But what happened?...

Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me, you will never be a strong nation, and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve.

*Speech, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

#### DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY AND LIBERTY—A MUSLIM BELIEF

Democracy is in the blood of Musalmans, who look upon complete equality of manhood [mankind]... [and] believe in fraternity, equality and liberty.

*London, 14 December 1946*

#### DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN

Muslims in Pakistan want to be able to establish their own real democratic popular government. This government will have the sanction...of the people of Pakistan and will function with the will and sanction of the entire body of people in Pakistan, irrespective of caste or colour....

*Interview to the Daily Worker, London, 1944*

#### DENIAL OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THOUGHT IN KASHMIR

I do hope that immediate steps will be taken by the Paramount Power to intervene and hold an inquiry into the recent occurrences in Kashmir which have resulted in bloodshed and the ruthless measure of oppression and suppression that have been adopted by the Kashmir Government against the people and the press. From all accounts that I have received, there does not exist in Kashmir any freedom of thought or speech.

*11 September 1945*

#### DUTY OF CIVIL SERVANTS TO THE STATE AND CITIZENS—1

You have to do your duty as servants; you are not concerned with this or that political party; that is not your business.... You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants.

*Address to Gazetted Officers, Chittagong 25 March 1948*

#### DUTY OF CIVIL SERVANTS TO THE STATE AND CITIZENS—2

Government servants, both Central and Provincial.... Yours is a great responsibility. You must ensure that this Province is given, not merely the ordinary routine services that you are bound to perform, but rather the very last ounce of selfless endeavour that you are capable of producing for your State. In the great task of building up this State, you have a magnificent opportunity.

*Broadcast, Radio Pakistan, Dacca, 28 March 1948*

#### DUTY OF CIVIL SERVANTS TO THE STATE AND CITIZENS—3

You [civil officers] should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader—this is not your business. Whichever government is formed according to the constitution, and whoever happens to be the

Prime Minister or Minister coming into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is not only to serve that Government loyally and faithfully, but at the same time, fearlessly maintaining your high reputation

*Informal talk to Civil Officers, Peshawar, 14 April 1948*

#### DUTY OF THE ARMED FORCES OF PAKISTAN

Nature's inexorable law is 'the survival of the fittest' and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly won freedom. You have fought many a battle on the far-flung battlefields of the globe to rid the world of the Fascist menace and make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy. Islamic social justice and the equality of manhood in your own native soil. You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time for relaxation is not yet there. With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve.

*Address to the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments, Muzir, 21 February 1948*

#### DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT—1

You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property, and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

...if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the wellbeing of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor.

*Address, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Karachi, 11 August 1947*

#### DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT—2

The Government can only have for its aim one objective—how to serve the people, how to devise

ways and means for their welfare, for their betterment. What other object can the Government have...?

*Address, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

#### DUTY TO THE STATE OF PAKISTAN

I naturally welcome your statement that you do not believe in provincialism. You must learn to distinguish between your love for your province and your love and duty to the State as a whole. Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond provincialism. It demands a broader sense of vision, and [a] greater sense of patriotism. Our duty to the State often demands that we must be ready to submerge our individual or provincial interests into the common cause for common good. Our duty to the State comes first: our duty to our Province, to our district, to our town and to our village and ourselves comes next.

*Speech, Islamia College, Peshawar, 12 April 1948*

#### ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY

When we first raised our demand for a sovereign and independent State of Pakistan there were not a few false prophets who tried to deflect us from our set purpose by saying that Pakistan was not economically feasible. They painted an extremely dark picture of the future of our State and its financial and economic soundness. The very first budget presented by you must have caused a shock to those false prophets. It has already demonstrated the soundness of Pakistan's finances and the determination of its Government to make them more and more sound and strong.... I have no doubt in my mind about the bright future that awaits Pakistan when its vast resources of men and material are fully mobilized. The road that we may have to travel may be somewhat uphill at present but with courage and determination we mean to achieve our objective which is to build up and construct a strong and prosperous Pakistan.

*Speech on the occasion of the presentation of new Pakistani coins and currency notes by the Finance Minister, 1 April 1948*



## EDUCATIONAL POLICY TO BUILD UP CHARACTER, INTEGRITY, HONOUR AND SERVICE TO THE NATION

If we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must...bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.... What we have to do is to mobilize our people and build up the character of our future generations.... In short, we have to build up the character of our future generations which means highest sense of honour, integrity, selfless service to the nation, and sense of responsibility, and we have to see that they are fully qualified or equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan.

*Message to All Pakistan Educational Conference, Karachi, 27 November 1947*

## EQUAL TREATMENT AND RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

Minorities to whichever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion of faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, and their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed.

*Press Conference, New Delhi, 14 July 1947*

## EQUALITY, FRATERNITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Brotherhood, equality, and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization and we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of the denial of these human rights in this Subcontinent.

*Address, Public Reception, Chittagong, 26 March 1948*

## FAITH, UNITY AND DISCIPLINE

I have no doubt that with unity, faith and discipline we will not only remain the fifth largest State in the world but will compare with any nation of the world.... You must make up your mind now. We must sink individualism and petty jealousies and make up our minds to serve the people with honesty and faithfulness. We are passing through a period of fear, danger and menace. We must have faith, unity and discipline.

*Reply to North Western Railway Officers' welcome address, Karachi, 28 December 1947*

## FEUDALISM—EXPLOITATION OF THE MASSES

I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam

*Address, All India Muslim League Session, Delhi, 24 April 1943*

## FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION—PROTECT JOURNALISTS

I say, protect the innocent, protect those journalists who are doing their duty and who are serving both the public and the Government by criticizing the Government freely, independently, honestly which is an education for any Government.

*Speech on the condition of the Press in India in the Imperial Legislative Council, 19 September 1918*

## FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION

I want you to keep your heads up as citizens of a free and independent sovereign State. Praise your Government when it deserves. Criticize your Government fearlessly when it deserves, but do not go on all the time attacking, indulging in destructive



criticism, taking delight in running down the Ministry or the officials.

*Reply to welcome address, Edwardes College, Peshawar, 18 April 1948*

#### GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONS TO FUNCTION FOR THE GOOD OF THE STATE

Representative governments and representative institutions are no doubt good and desirable, but when people want to reduce them merely to channels of personal aggrandizement, they not only lose their value but earn a bad name. We must subject our actions to perpetual scrutiny and test them with the touchstone, not of personal or sectional interest, but of the good of the State.

*Address at Quetta Municipality, 15 June 1948*

#### HONEST AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

This is your Government. It is quite different from its predecessor. Therefore, appreciate when a good thing is done. Certainly criticize fearlessly, when a wrong thing is done. I welcome criticism, but it must be honest and constructive

*Address, Edwardes College, Peshawar, 18 April 1948*

#### ISLAM—DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY, JUSTICE, FREEDOM, INTEGRITY, FAIRPLAY

Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fairplay to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fairplay and justice for everybody....Let us make it [the future constitution of Pakistan]. We shall make it and we shall show it to the world.

*Address, Bar Association, Karachi, 25 January 1948*

#### ISLAMIC ECONOMIC THEORY AND PRACTICE TO SUIT PAKISTAN

The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice.

*Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi, 1 July 1948*

#### LAW AND ORDER

Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the prerequisites of all progress. The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed

*Speech at University Stadium, Lahore, 30 October 1947*

#### LIBERTY, FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.... We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State....Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

*Address, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Karachi, 11 August 1947*

#### LOOK AFTER THE POOR

It is your sacred duty to look after the poor and help them. I would never have gone through the toil and suffering for the last ten years had I not felt our sacred duty towards them. We must secure for them

better living conditions. It should not be our policy to make the rich richer, but that does not mean that we want to uproot things. We can quite consistently give all their due share.

*27 Ramadhan 1366*

#### MERCHANTS AND TRADERS WELCOME TO BUILD FORTUNES AND PAKISTAN

Traders and merchants will always be welcome and they, in building up their own fortunes, will not forget their social responsibility for a fair and square deal to one and all, big and small. I would like Pakistan to become

[a] synonym and hallmark for standard and quality in the market places of the world.... May you, as true Pakistanis, help to reconstruct and build Pakistan to reach a mighty and glorious status amongst the comity of nations of the world....

*Address, Karachi Chamber of Commerce, 27 April 1948*

#### MESSAGE TO PAKISTANIS

Work honestly and sincerely and be faithful and loyal to the Pakistan Government. I can assure you there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and, when you appear before God, you can say that you performed your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness

*Address to Civil Officers of Balochistan, Sibi, 14 February 1948*

#### MUSLIMS ARE A NATION—1

Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social, and political life in a way that we think best, and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people.

*Presidential Address, 27th Session, All India Muslim League, Lahore, 22–24 March 1940*

#### MUSLIMS ARE A NATION—2

We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million people, and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions—in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation.

*Jinnah's reply (17 September 1944) to Gandhi's contention (15 September 1944): 'I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock'*

#### OATH OF ARMED FORCES OFFICER

During my talks with one or two very high-ranking officers I discovered that they did not know the implications of the Oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a matter of form; what is more important is the true spirit and the heart. But it is an important form and I would like to take the opportunity of refreshing your memory by reading the prescribed oath to you: 'I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I owe allegiance to the Constitution and the Dominion of Pakistan and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully serve in the Dominion of Pakistan Forces and go within the terms of my enrolment wherever I may be ordered by air, land or sea and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me....'

*Address, Staff College, Quetta, 14 June 1948*



## PAKISTAN NOT A THEOCRATIC STATE

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)... But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.

*Broadcast talk to the people of Australia, 19 February 1948*

## PAKISTAN—A MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENT

We have undoubtedly achieved Pakistan, and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of the pen, which is no less mighty than the sword and so our righteous cause has triumphed. Are we now going to besmear and tarnish this greatest achievement for which there is no parallel in the history of the world. Pakistan is now a fait accompli and it can never be undone, besides, it was the only just, honourable, and practical solution of the most complex constitutional problem of this great subcontinent

Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation... Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Mussalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world. It is in your hands, we have undoubtedly talents, Pakistan is blessed with enormous resources and potentialities. Providence has endowed us with all the wealth of nature and now it lies with man to make the best of it

*31 August 1947*

## PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH INDIA—1

I sincerely hope that they [relations between India and Pakistan] will be friendly and cordial. We have a

great deal to do...and think that we can be of use to each other [and to] the world.

*Press Conference, New Delhi, 14 July 1947*

## PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH INDIA—2

First and the foremost, both Dominions must make all-out efforts to restore peace and maintain law and order in their respective States—that is fundamental. I have repeatedly said that; now that the division of India has been brought about by solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that, despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbours and we can help each other in diverse ways, morally, materially and politically and thereby raise the prestige and status of both Dominions. But before we can make any progress, it is absolutely essential that peace must be restored and law and order maintained in both the Dominions.

*Interview to Reuter's correspondent, Karachi, 25 October 1947*

## PEACE AND PROSPERITY AMONG NATIONS— UPHOLDING PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER

Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nation's Charter.

*Broadcast to USA, February 1948*



## PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO PLACE AND REMOVE GOVERNMENT FROM POWER

It is in your hands to put the Government in power or remove the Government from power, but you must not do it by mob methods. You have the power; you must learn the art to use it; you must try and understand the machinery. Constitutionally, it is in your hands to upset one Government and put another Government in power if you are dissatisfied to such an extent.

*Address, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

## POLITICAL ISSUES CANNOT BE SETTLED BY FORCE

Grave political issues cannot be settled by the cult of the knife, or by gangsterism. There are parties and parties, but the difference between them cannot be resolved by attacks on Party leaders. Nor can political views be altered by the threats of violence.

*Eid message, October 1943*

## PROTECTION AND RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

Minorities can rest assured that their rights will be protected. No civilized Government can be run successfully without giving minorities a complete sense of security and confidence. They must be made to feel that they have a hand in Government and to do this they must have adequate representation in it. Pakistan will give this.

*Interview to APA representative, Bombay, 8 November 1945*

## QURAN—A GENERAL CODE OF THE MUSLIMS

Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code, it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life to come, and our Prophet (PBUH) has

enjoined on us that every Musulman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore, Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collective[ly] and individually.

*Eid message, September 1945*

## RELATIONS WITH USA

I am hopeful that good relations and friendship already existing between the peoples of America and Pakistan will be further strengthened and the bonds of friendship between our two countries will be more firmly riveted.

*Reply to the US Ambassador's speech, Karachi, 26 February 1948*

## REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT—FRIEND AND SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE, DUTY TO MAINTAIN HONOUR, INTEGRITY, JUSTICE AND FAIRPLAY

Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's Government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practice.... Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour, integrity, justice and fairplay.

*Address to Gazetted Officers, Chittagong, 25 March 1948*

## ROLE OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES

An opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power.

*8 November 1945*

## RULE OF LAW, FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, CIVIL LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

No man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty, without a judicial trial in accordance with

the accepted rules of evidence and procedure... the powers which are going to be assumed by the executive, which means substitution of executive for judicial, such powers are likely to be abused, and in the past we have instances where such powers have been abused... there is no precedent or parallel that I know of in any other civilized country where you have laws of this character enacted... it imperils the liberty of the subject and fundamental liberties of a citizen

*Speech on Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill, Imperial Legislative Council, 6 February 1919*

#### SAFEGUARDING THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

They will have their rights and privileges and no doubt, along with it goes the obligation of citizenship. Therefore, the minorities have their responsibilities also and they will play their part in the affairs of this State. As long as the minorities are loyal to the State and owe true allegiance... they need have no apprehension of any kind

*Press Conference, New Delhi, 14 July 1947*

#### SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIAN STATE

Muslim feelings have been stirred over the issue of Palestine. I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom. You know the Arabs... who are fighting for the freedom of their country, have been described as gangsters, and subjected to all forms of repression... But no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices, such as the Arabs of Palestine are making. All our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers. They are being subjected to monstrous injustices.

*Address, All India Muslim League Session, Patna, 26 December 1938*

#### UNITED FRONT BY MUSLIM STATES

My...message to our brother Muslim States is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the councils of the world.

*Ind Message, 7 August 1948*

#### URDU—THE LANGUAGE FOR PAKISTAN

Urdu [is] a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this subcontinent, a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and above all, a language which more than any other provincial language, embodies the best in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition...is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries.

*Address, Dacca University Convocation, 24 March 1948*

#### VISION OF PAKISTAN—1

In Pakistan lies our deliverance, defence and honour.... In our solidarity, unity and discipline lie the strength, power and sanction behind us to carry on this fight successfully. No sacrifice should be considered too great. We shall never accept any future constitution on the basis of a united India.

*Message on Pakistan Day, 23 March 1945*

#### VISION OF PAKISTAN—2

We must get Pakistan at any cost. For it we live and for it we will die. The Mussalmans have to struggle and struggle hard for their honourable existence... you must work and work hard. By doing so you will contribute substantially not only to the honour of ten crores of Muslims but to the crystallization of a free Muslim state of Pakistan where Muslims will be able to offer the ideology of Islamic rule.

*Address, Public Meeting, Mardan, 24 November 1945*

### VISION OF PAKISTAN—3

If we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should concentrate on the well being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. Everyone of you, no matter what his colour, caste or creed, is first, second or last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations....

*Address, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 11 August 1947*

### VISION OF PAKISTAN—4

The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving...is, by [the] grace of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was the means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own rights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find freeplay.

*Address to Civil and Military Officers of Pakistan Government, Karachi, 11 October 1947*

### VISION OF PAKISTAN—5

The great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity..., constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also...[provide] limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State. I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanizing not only the State but also the Nation.

*Address, Public Meeting, Chittagong, 26 March 1948*

### VISION OF PAKISTAN—6

Remember we are building up a State which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World. We, therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of

provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanize and weld us all into one united and strong nation. That is the only way in which we can achieve our goal, the goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Mussalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives.

*Speech, Islamia College, Peshawar, 12 April 1948*

### VISION OF PAKISTAN—7

The other and higher aspect of Pakistan is that it would be a base where we will be able to train and bring up Muslim intellectuals, educationists, economists, scientists, doctors, engineers, technicians, etc. who will work to bring about Islamic renaissance. They will spread over the Middle East and other Muslim countries to serve their co-religionists and create awakening among them. The entire belt of the Middle East will develop into a solid, cohesive block—a third block—which will be neither communistic nor capitalistic but truly socialistic.

*Quaid-i-Azam as seen by his contemporaries, by Jamiluddin Aali*

### WE ARE MUSLIMS AND PAKISTANIS FIRST

Let me warn you in the clearest terms of the dangers that still face Pakistan.... Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism. As long as you do not throw off this poison [of provincialism] from your body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanize yourself into a real, true nation. What we want is not to talk about Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pathan, and so on. They are, of course, units. But I ask you: have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us thirteen hundred years ago? If I may point out, you are all outsiders here. Who were the original inhabitants of Bengal—not those who are now living here. So what is the use of saying, 'We

are Bengalis, or Sindhis, or Pathans, or Punjabis.' No, we are Muslims.

*Address, Public Meeting, Dacca, 21 March 1948*

#### WOMEN'S RIGHTS

No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of the Western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideas and standards. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life, avoiding the corrupt practices of Western society.

*Speech, Muslim University Union, Ahgarh, 10 March 1944*





## Section 3

# *Excerpts from the Speeches and Statements of the Quaid*

17 MARCH 1911

*On 17 March 1911, the Hon. Mr M. A. Jinnah introduced the Bill in the Legislative Council to define the rights of the Muslim subjects of His Majesty to make settlements of property by way of 'wakf' in favour of their families and descendants.*

The Hon'ble Mr Jinnah: Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to define the rights of the Mussalman subjects of His Majesty to make settlements of property by way of wakf in favour of their families and descendants .. Before I deal with the merits of this Bill, I want one point to be made clear, and that is this. Ever since the well-known case of *Fata Mahomed Ishak v. Russoniaya* (reported in L.R. 22 Indian Appeals, page 76), there has been a very strong feeling and agitation amongst the Mussalmans against the decision.... That being the state of feeling of the Mussalman community on the subject, last year I put certain questions to government and replies were given to me by the Government of India....

After... [their] answer was given by the Government, I had the opportunity of consulting leading Mussalmans in this country, and it was after a great deal of consideration, I decided that the only way in which this question, which is of paramount importance to the Mussalman community, can be solved was to bring a Bill in this Council....

The question now before the Council is, what is this question that has been agitating the Mussalman community? As I said, it is the decision of the Privy Council in 1894 that has to our mind, paralysed the Mussalman law, so far as the power of a Mussalman is concerned, to make trusts for his family, his children and his descendants. The legal history of this question goes as far back as half a century and more.... Since then, several pronouncements have been made all over the country by different High Courts more or less conflicting until 1894, when the decision of the Privy Council, the highest tribunal in the Empire, gave the severest blow to the law of Wakf-alal-aulad. The subject I may tell you is this. There are two things known to Mussalman law—one is *hibba* and the other is *wakf*—two institutions. *Hibba* in other words means out-and-out gift. The Muhammadan law permits a Mussalman to make a gift of his property out-and-

out. That is to say, he gives delivery of his possession and is done with it—what an English lawyer would call conveyance out-and-out.... Then comes the other branch of the Mussalman law which is known as *wakf*. *Wakf*, as I understand, is analogous—somewhat analogous—to the law of trusts in the English law, and that again is divided into two parts, it may be private trusts with ultimate reversion to charity, or it may be charitable trusts pure and simple, or in other words, private trusts with ultimate reversion to charity or pure and simple charitable or religious trusts. Now, the question that we are concerned with in this Bill is the question of private trusts with ultimate reversion to charity.... Here I may remind the Council that the testamentary power of a Mussalman is limited. He can only dispose of one-third of his property by will. That again is subject to the same rules as *hibba* or gift, that is to say, he cannot create life estates or various other estates known to the English or any other law of trust, and what is more, the testamentary disposition cannot be made in favour of heirs, or any particular heir unless all the heirs consent to it after the death of the testator. Now, as I said, in the Bombay High Court the decision was laid down against the Mussalman law in 1873. After that, in 1882 and in 1884, other decisions came until in 1894, we came to meet the decision of the Privy Council which lays down in substance as follows:

It says that *wakf* of this kind, namely, the *wakf-ul-aulad*, is governed by Muhammadan law. No doubt, therefore, we cannot go beyond the pale of that law, but they say that there must be substantial dedication to charity. What is substantial dedication to charity? This is not defined in any way at all. They further go on and say that that substantial dedication to charity must be at some period of time or other presumably not too remote. They do not fix any limit upon the time or period. Therefore, it has introduced the greatest uncertainty in our law. A Mussalman who wants to make a *wakf* of this character—*wakf-ul-aulad*—does not know at what period of time the charity should come in under the deed. He does not know what would be considered substantial dedication to charity by any Court of Law. One court may hold that the charity should come in after the first life because the words are some period of time or other, another court may hold that the

charity should come in after two lives, and so on and so forth

Again, what is substantial dedication to charity? But the main point, the principal point, we are concerned with, is the proposition of the Privy Council that, unless there is substantial dedication to charity, the *wakf* is illusory and therefore bad. We say, with the greatest deference and utmost respect for the Lords of the Privy Council, that that decision is not in accordance with the true principles of Mussalman law, and their exposition of our law is opposed to the fundamental principles of Islamic Jurisprudence. If a man cannot make a *wakf-alal-aulad* as it is laid down in our law, then it comes to this that he cannot make any provision for his family and children at all, and the consequences are that it has been breaking up Mussalman families. Of course, the result of this decision has been, first of all, that *wakfs* have been hunted down.... The other effect of the decision is that it prevents you from making any settlement in favour of your family and children. Therefore, Sir, that being the state of our law at the present moment, the Mussalman community feels that the only way in which it can possibly put this state of things right is by an appeal to legislation.... I only propose to quote a passage from his [Sir Rowland Wilson's] book which collects all the translations of all the textbooks on this subject, and, after giving all those translations, the conclusion he comes to is this (See Wilson's *Muhammadan Law*, 3rd Edition, Page 478):

Mr Justice Amr Ali, both in his book and in two memorable judgements, has accumulated a mass of testimony to the same effect from other untranslated Arabic books. But the above extracts from a standard work accessible to all students in its English dress are surely as conclusive (in the absence of contrary evidence) as any affirmative testimony can be, as to the practice of Indian Muhammadans of the Hanafi persuasion at the date of that compilation (17th century) and also of the practice in Central Asia at the date of the principal textbooks relied on by the compilers (12th and 13th centuries). It may be added that the Turkish practice, as described by D'O'Hsson a century ago, was substantially the same, and that the Shi'a and Shafeite authorities are quite at one with the Hanafites as to the validity of settlements on descendants, as has been shown under sections 460 and 484A

Therefore, he comes to the conclusion that the decision of the Privy Council is not in accordance with Mussalman law

Then, there is one more passage I will trouble the council with which comes also from a very great authority, Sir W.C. Petheram, once the Chief Justice of Bengal....he sums up thus:

The judgment of the Judicial Committee as delivered by Lord Hobhouse contains a passage for which I am sure the inhabitants of India as well Hindus as Mussalmans will be grateful. It is as follows:

'Amongst the very elaborate arguments and judgments reported in *Bikam Meah's* case some doubts are expressed whether cases of this kind are governed by the Muhammadan law, and it is suggested that the decision of Ahsanulla Chowdhri's case displaces Muhammadan law in favour of English law. Clearly the Muhammadan law ought to govern a purely Muhammadan disposition of property.'

After the judgment of the full bench had appeared, the subject was a good deal discussed by Muhammadans in India, and I was struck by the fact that every Muhammadan who spoke to me on the subject agreed with Mr Justice Amr Ali, and they all, both lawyers and laymen, asserted that there was no doubt that a *wakf* as understood by Muhammadans was such as he had described it in his judgement. At about the same time, I had a conversation on the subject with a gentleman who then occupied a very important position in the Government of India but who had spent many years in official positions in Muhammadan countries. He assured me that the law as laid down in the majority of the Full Bench was not in accordance with Muhammadan law and that it was within his own knowledge that a very large portion of land, both in Turkey and Egypt, was held under family settlements created by way of *wakf* constituted and conditioned in the way which Mr Amr Ali asserts is lawful according to Muhammadan law....

...at the present moment while the position of the Mussalmans under the Privy Council decision is, so to say, *an impasse*, in other countries such as Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, and I believe, although I am not quite sure, but I believe that even in Native states in India, such as Nizam's dominions and others, the true Mussalman law is administered in matters of this kind

Then, if that is so, and so far if we are right that the exposition of the Privy Council of our law is not correct, the question which then arises, Sir, is this; are we to be left in this position which I have described? Is the Muhammadan to be deprived of his power, of his right which is given to everyone under any system of jurisprudence, to make an adequate provision for his family and children? You have, on the one hand, by this decision, taken away that power. On the other hand, there is no corresponding power under the Mussalman law which enables him to get over it.... the institution of wakf is entirely interwoven with the religious life, the social life and the basic principles of economy of the community, and the result would be—and is—disruption of Muhammadan families, the result is a revolution in the law of property under Muhammadan law....

...a great Russian professor... who has studied this question, it seems with very great care, is of this opinion:

It is a most rational and happy solution of economic problems which must have troubled parents solicitous about the future of their descendants.

Therefore, on economic principles, he seems to think that it is the best solution that you can possibly have. Well, Sir, that being the position, we feel that the only way open to us is to appeal to our Government, and here today I appeal to our Government, and I ask you, Sir, that the Government of India should give every support to this Bill. This Bill is not intended in any way to lay down new law or new principle. This Bill is intended only to reproduce the Mussalman law which has been disturbed by the decisions of the Privy Council. It is not intended to define the general law of wakf which must be governed by the Muhammadan law.

Now, coming to the provisions of the Bill, you will see that the first portion of the Bill, Clauses 1 and 2, are nothing but preamble and definitions, etc. Section 3, which is the most important part of the Bill, says this:

Power to create Wakfs:

3. Subject to the provisions of this Act, it shall be lawful for any person, professing the Mussalman faith,

not being a minor or of unsound mind, to create a wakf for among others the following purposes:

- a) for the maintenance and support, wholly or partially, of his family, his children and descendants, and
- b) where the wakf is a Hanafi Mussalman, for his own support and maintenance during his lifetime or for the payment of his debts out of the rents and profits of the property dedicated.

Provided always that the ultimate reversion is, in such cases, expressly or impliedly reserved for the poor, or for some other religious, pious or charitable purpose of a permanent character.

Now, that we submit is nothing but a reproduction of Mussalman law.

Then section 4 is a section by which is intended that there should be a writing, and that writing should be signed and attested by two or more witnesses and registered. That section, which is only a matter of details and not a matter of principle, is simply to secure the authenticity of a document, and the following sections along with section 4, *viz.*, sections 5 and 6,—all these provisions of registration are intended to prevent fraud on creditors...

...Clause 10, which only deals with testamentary wakfs, does not in any way alter the Mussalman law. It only says that if you choose to make a wakf by a testamentary document or will it should be registered, that is again to prevent fraud upon the creditors. Clause 11 is intended to give power to persons mentioned therein to get the will registered within a certain period.

Therefore, Sir...the main object, the sole purpose of the Bill is to reproduce the Mussalman law in conformity with the texts, in accordance with the wishes and the very strong feeling of the Mussalman community, which feeling is well justified, having regard to the enormous consequences that have followed upon the decision of the Privy Council. Therefore, I ask the Council to give me leave to introduce this Bill...



MOVING THE REPORT OF  
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
THE MUSSALMAN WAKF VALIDATING BILL  
APRIL 1913

Sir, I move that the report of the Select Committee on the Bill to declare the rights of Mussalmans to make settlements of property by way of wakf in favour of their families, children and descendants, be taken into consideration

...The one objection which has been urged against the Bill is the question of public. Now the answer to that, Sir, is a very simple one...what we have got to do is to administer the Muhammadan Law to the Mussalmans, and therefore, to introduce the question of public policy which is foreign to the Islamic Jurisprudence, to my mind is outside the question...

Another point was that we must protect the creditors, and with regard to that, as the Council knows, the Bill, as it was originally introduced, contained certain clauses, which were intended to prevent fraud against creditors. Those clauses, when they came to be considered in the Select Committee, we, on careful consideration, found it very difficult to maintain, without in any way infringing upon the personal law that governs the Mussalmans in this country. That being so, it was, after very careful consideration, decided by the Select Committee unanimously that the registration clauses should be dropped...

...The fraud upon creditors may be divided into two parts: first, a fraud which may be practiced when the wakf is created; so far as that part of the law is concerned, there are safeguards, as I said already, in the Muhammadan Law. Then with regard to the frauds which may be practiced upon the creditors after the wakf has been actually created, it seems to me that we have got already the Registration Act, which lays down that every wakf that is made in writing must be registered, and that notice by virtue of its being registered is a sufficient safeguard to that extent. No doubt a Muhammadan may make an oral wakf, and in that case it may prejudice the creditor to a certain extent. The answer to that is, that that is Mussalman Law and you cannot override the Mussalman Law. If you compel the Mussalman to make wakf in writing and in no other manner, you are, to that extent,

overriding the Mussalman Law, and therefore, I, for one, am not prepared to accept any provision which is in any way likely to overrule or affect the personal law of the Mussalmans. A man stands in a very serious position indeed, if he makes an oral wakf when he comes to prove it in a Court of Law, and therefore, nowadays, people do not make oral wakfs. Thus the very apprehended fear is so very small; whereas, in order to rectify the fear, the danger of infringing upon the Mussalman law is so great; and taking the two considerations, the one overbalances the other to such an extent that I felt that I could not possibly have that provision.

JINNAH'S ADDRESS TO  
THE COURT IN THE CASE  
BAL GANGADHAR TILAK VS KING EMPEROR  
8 NOVEMBER 1916

...The first thing that the Court has got to find out is whether in this case the Appellant, by speeches, disseminates or attempts to disseminate any seditious matter. To put it shortly, whether he comes within the meaning of section 124 A.

...In section 17 what is contemplated by the term 'Government' is a collective conception. This is my idea that 'Government does not mean an individual or individual officials'; Government is an abstract conception... the speeches that Mr Tilak made are nothing but a criticism of a certain system of administration and not of the whole administration. Remember this also that he is only dealing with a certain portion of the whole system of administration, such as, the Military Service, the Forest Service and so forth. Mr Tilak deals with one part of the whole system of administration, which is the Civil Service and which, in India, constitutes the Bureaucracy. The comment is directed towards a particular phase of the system of administration... the Bureaucracy having the monopoly of all the powers and being not responsible to the people.

My submission, my lords, is this that you should read the speeches of Mr Tilak as a whole... they are nothing but a comment or an expression of disapprobation of the measures of Government with

a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means... I can also point out to your lordships no less than 47 passages, which I have picked out from the speeches and which go conclusively to show that there is no doubt, my lords, that there is not the slightest doubt than Mr Tilak never intended to cause disaffection towards Government established by law in British India...

There was a great deal of discussion with regard to the translation of certain words. The translation of those words was challenged...

...I say it is open to a citizen to say that a particular Service should be removed in a particular way. I submit any individual is entitled to criticise any service even unreasonably, then he does not cause disaffection against the Government established by law in British India...

. An intention is not seditious if the object is to show that the King has been misled or mistaken in his measures, or to point out errors or defects in the Government or Constitution with a view to their reformation, or to excite the subjects to attempt by lawful means, the alteration of any matter in Church or State by law established, or to point out, in order to their removal, matters which are producing, or having a tendency to produce, feelings of hatred and ill-will between classes of the King's subjects...

I will tell your lordships what the intention of Mr Tilak was when he delivered these speeches... the object of his making the speech was to convince his audience that the Home Rule League was a good thing. He began to tell his audience clearly that he wanted to convince them as to 'what we are asking for? What is the thing that we ought to have?' And Mr Tilak wanted to convince the audience in this way in order that the audience might become members of the League... That is the object with which Mr Tilak was giving these lectures. Therefore, I say, Mr Tilak had no particular object in having the intention at this juncture to disseminate sedition. His object was a definite object, namely, to try to convince people that the Home Rule League organisation was a good thing... I ask your lordships the simple question: can you imagine a lecturer, starting with the praise of the British Rule, can ever possibly create prejudice

against the British Rule in this country and yet put before his audience these ideas of advancement 'through their sympathy, through their anxious care, through their high sentiments?' He says these things about the British Government and then he says 'thus is how we have to secure our own good'... Does a man, starting with these words, really want to cause disaffection? Remember what he further says: 'It is an undoubted fact that we must secure our good under their protection.' My lords, can that be disputed by anybody? For the people of this country must try and secure their own good with the aid of the English nation. Then he says 'One Government will remain invisible Government and the visible Government changes every moment... We do not wish to change the invisible Government—English Government'. Here he gives his abstract conception of what he wants to remain and what he wants to be changed. Next he says, 'The "Swaraja" agitation, now existing in India, is for the change of the Ministry... We want to remain under the shelter Of the English rule'. My lords, the audience must be really the most perverted to be disaffected against the British Rule when a speaker, remember, my lords throughout his speech, does not say a single word against the British Government... Now, let us turn to the objections raised to this first speech... some of the objections made by the prosecution were really under some misconception of what the speaker really meant...

Now, my lords, if you say you object to any particular official or a particular member of Government or the Secretary of States, is that sedition? Is that wrong? Is there anything wrong? All that he says is that if you want really to do anything, at all, you have to go to the Collector, you have no power yourself; you cannot manage your own affairs. We want a better arrangement than that...

. When anything is asked from the officials, they are so overconfident that they do not listen to us. Therefore, he says that he whose belly is pinched has experience.

Batchelor J.: You see, we say in English 'it is the wearer of the shoe that knows where the shoe pinches'.

Mr Jinnah: Quite so, that is it. Some of the officials are overconfident about their own management,



which they are perfectly honestly doing their best to keep properly, but, they cannot realise what defects the people of the country see in the management..

The Lower Court said on this point that this passage was a sort of an insinuation that the Bureaucracy thought that they are the repositories of experience. That is not so. What Mr Tilak says is this: 'At the present time, science has made progress, knowledge has increased and experience has accumulated in one place; therefore, we are today more fit to be given the management of our affairs, than we were before, because now we have got experience, we have got knowledge.' My Lords, this is Mr Tilak's contention. If a man criticises a particular system of administration, if he wants to make out a case that the system is a bad one or a defective one or one that is not conducive to the good of the people, if a man finds fault with such a system, how else is he to describe it? He, no doubt, argues here with anger when he says 'Better say "it is not to be given"'. What I say is don't apply the words *not fit* to us. Don't say we are not fit'. Then he says 'but how long will you teach us—for one generation, two generations, or three generations? Is there any end to this, or must we, just like this, work under you like slaves till the end? Set some limit' My Lords, Mr Tilak says all this because he wants to strengthen his argument that 'we fare fit.' This, my Lords, is the passage which was complained of..

this passage is not directed towards the Government. It is really directed towards the objectors. Mr Tilak does not say, my Lords, for a moment, that it is, the Government that objects... He includes among the objectors both Indians as well as Englishman... he says.

From whom then does this opposition come? This opposition comes from those who are in power

that is, he means, the people who are carrying on the Government—the members of the Civil Service. He says 'It does not come from the Emperor'...

Batchelor J.: The passage is used in the sense that it attacks those whose interests are opposed to the country's interests

Mr Jinnah: Then, I don't think I need trouble your Lordships with the rest of that page, because there is no complaint about it. At page 30... He says these roots and foundations still exist, and, therefore, it is not good. That is the whole of his argument throughout the speech... His object is to say that the roots or foundations of the old system have continued since 1858

..Mr Tilak says further: 'Then arose these Legislative Councils'.... 'We shall publish them in the 'Bombay Government Gazette'. 'This is the only difference. Nothing is got from this'. My Lords, here, Mr Tilak is dealing with the question of the Legislative Councils having power to make speeches only. He says they can only make speeches which, instead of being published in newspapers would be published in the 'Bombay Government Gazette.'

Batchelor J.: What is objectionable here?

Mr Jinnah: I don't know what they really object to. This was the passage objected to. In this passage Mr Tilak further says 'The hope of getting is held out. Thus, this Bureaucracy has been cajoling us

..I don't know whether they object to the words 'Thus this Bureaucracy has been cajoling us'? By these words Mr Tilak means that the Bureaucracy [is] putting us off

...What does this passage come to?... Our demands are put off... Is this argument, my Lords, likely to cause disaffection?... Then, your Lordships, we come



to page 32; this is what is really complained of, namely, 'We do not want the State Secretary, who has been created as a son-in-law.' Your Lordships, while reading this speech, should remember that what Mr Tilak means is this that the Secretary of State as an individual, is like the son-in-law, which is an Indian phrase and means that the man has got no right '*de jure*' but '*de facto*'. He is in your house simply because he has been married to your daughter... This is an Indian idea, meaning a man who has got no legal rights, but who still, somehow or other, makes himself master of the situation.

Mr Tilak says that that system should be changed, because that system is bad, and, for that purpose, he further says, 'We want to go to Parliament, we want to petition the British nation, we want to petition the British Parliament to have that Act changed'. ! I ask, my lords, what is wrong in that? Why is that seditious? You may find an expression here and there very strong or very discourteous, but it is not seditious... Your lordships have nothing to do with how strong the argument may be, how discourteous it may be, or even if it is offensive so long as Mr Tilak has not done what is prohibited by section 124 A.

You see, the whole of his point is this that in India the administration is not carried on to the benefit of the people...

He does not mean the Government established by law in British India. He is referring to certain number of persons, who are managing the administration of the country.

Batchelor J.: I suppose what was held against you by the Court below was the words 'The king looks to his own benefit, to the benefit of his own race, and to the 'benefit of his original country'. What have you to say to that?

Mr Jinnah: What Mr Tilak says is that that king is to be considered alien, who does not do his duty... He is an alien who, no matter what his religion, what his caste, or what his creed, who does not do his duty...

...What Mr Tilak tells his audience is this 'The British Government is the best Government for us. The British Rule has been most beneficial to us. We have

really to make progress under the protecting hand of the British Rule, but we have got this iron wall namely, this particular system which is a part of the government in this country.'...

I say, no intelligent audience would have been disaffected by this speech...

...'Sarkar' does not mean 'Government,' it is an elastic word, and there is no other word in Marathi to express the idea of 'Sarkar,' that is the 'Bureaucracy'. 'Sarkar' here mean's the 'Bureaucracy'... The word is' taken from Sanskrit. Even the witness himself has admitted that the word 'Sarkar' is used for the 'Administration'.

Batchelor J.: I do not question it for a moment.

Mr Jinnah: ...Now, my Lords, I say that taking these speeches as a whole, they are criticisms of the system—of only a part of the whole administration... Now, if your Lordships will look to the judgment of the learned Magistrate, your Lordships will find that this is his finding at page 90: 'Looking at these speeches, as a whole, fairly, freely, and without giving undue weight to isolated passages, what impression do they convey to us, and what impression must we believe they conveyed to the audience to which they were addressed? The impression I gather from them is that Mr Tilak wishes to disaffect his audience towards the Government, in order that they may 'wake up' (to adopt Mr Jinnah's words) to their present unhappy condition, join his Home Rule League, and help him in his agitation for a change in the administration of the country. He is addressing an ignorant audience—counsel for the defence insisted upon this point.' My Lords, I don't know why the learned Magistrate says the audience was ignorant. May be that the audience was not highly intelligent, but to say that the audience was ignorant, there is no justification for it. However, the judgement proceeds: 'And he (Mr Tilak) knows, that he cannot interest them in his argument unless; he can illustrate it forcibly; so, he tells them that they are slaves, that their grievances remain unredressed, that the Government only considers its own interests, which are alien to theirs, and intends to keep them in slavery on the untrue excuse that they are not fit to rule themselves.'



...Now, my lords, it is for your lordships to decide whether you are not satisfied that the real attack was on the Civil Service and that Mr Tilak is simply seeking to have a change in the system of administration in the country. I say that all these three speeches clearly show that here is a criticism and an attack upon the system of administration of the Civil Service. That is all that I have to submit, my lords...

ON THE REPORT OF  
THE 'ROWLATT COMMITTEE AND  
MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORM PROPOSALS'  
15 APRIL 1918

*The year 1918 saw the publication of two important reports regarding India. The first was the report of the Committee appointed by the Government, the previous year, under the presidency of Mr J. Sir Sidney Rowlatt of King's Bench Division with Mr J. Kumarswami Sastri of Madras High Court and Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, an Advocate of Calcutta High Court, as members, 'to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable the Government to deal effectively with them', and the second incorporating the Reform Proposals of Montagu, as a result of his tour of India*

*The first report, presented on 15 April 1918, gave rise to a widespread protest throughout India and when it came for consideration before the Imperial Legislative Council, The Hon'ble Mr M.A. Jinnah placed before it the aspect which, as he himself said, no speaker had put before the House. He said*

I take it, my Lord, that the sole purpose of appointing the Rowlatt Committee was not to discover that there were criminal conspiracies in the land. They are here. They have existed. But, I take it, that the real object of appointing that Committee was to determine how to deal with this kind of offences when we return to normal times, for the extraordinary remedies and powers which are now placed in the hands of Government by what may be termed 'war legislation', will only last during the period of the war and no more, and their main purpose was to suggest what legislative measures should be adopted with a view to deal with these conspiracies...

Now, therefore, I do not attach much importance to that part of the Rowlatt Committee Report which does no more than put in a readable form the narratives of various conspiracies that have existed, the

various crimes that have been committed. But, we are concerned more with the part which recommends the measures that we should adopt.

Now, my Lord, it was said by the Hon. the Home Member that these are not political matters but crimes. With the utmost respect, I beg to differ from him. These are political matters and very much so. You must remember that in India before 1905 there was no such thing as criminal conspiracies of a revolutionary character. I believe that the first bomb that was thrown in India was after 1906, not before that. Therefore, my Lord, the question that we have to consider is this. What has happened to India? Why was there all of a sudden in 1906 this signal of a bomb throw? And why is it that since 1906 up to 1918 you have these vast developments of this anarchical movement? What is the cause of it?... I would urge upon this, my Lord, that there is discontent, there is dissatisfaction, there is unrest. Might I say my lord, that it is partly, if not wholly, due to your policy? What has been your policy? You might consider it a little. The Hon. Sir Verney Lovett says that you recognize that unless the people of this country will cooperate with the Government, unless they will help, there will be no other method so effective... But you cannot ask us to help you to prevent crimes when you lay down the policy without consulting us. If you want us to cooperate with you then associate us with you and give us a certain amount of control, responsibility, in the policies which you are laying down for the Government of this country

My Lord, that is an aspect which no speaker has put before the Council. The whole question has been dealt with on the footing as if some criminal tribes had sprung up in our midst and were a source of danger which it was the duty and business of everybody, without considering any further or anything more in connection with it, to lay down laws and the moment you enact laws on the Statute Book you think you have solved the problem. I say, my Lord, that no amount of laying down of laws on the Statute Book would solve this problem. You will have also to change your policy, and considerably, before you can remove the causes. Well, my Lord, with some of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee I may agree, but there are others which,

I am quite sure, no civilized Government will accept. No civilized Government will ever dream of putting these recommendations in the form of laws, and I refer particularly to the preventive measures which the Rowlatt Committee has recommended.

ON THE CRIMINAL LAW (EMERGENCY POWERS) BILL  
6 FEBRUARY 1919

My Lord, to any man who believes in law and justice, these measures must seem abhorrent and shocking... Now, before I deal with these Bills and the speech of the Hon'ble the Home Member, I shall place before the Council the grounds on which I am opposed to these Bills. My first ground is this, that it is against the fundamental principles of law and justice, namely, that no man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty, without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure. My second reason is, that this is a wrong remedy for the disease, namely, these revolutionary crimes, although I for one am prepared to accept as correct the findings of facts of the Rowlatt Committee that the crimes of the nature indicated have been committed. My third ground is that the powers which are going to be assumed by the executive, which means substitution of executive for judicial, such powers are likely to be abused, and in the past we have instances where such powers have been abused. My fourth ground is that there is no precedent or parallel that I know of in any other civilized country where you have laws of this character enacted. My fifth ground is that this is a most inopportune moment. At this moment I can tell you that high hopes have been raised among the people of this country because we are on the eve of great and momentous reforms being introduced. My sixth ground is that the proposed measures intended only to deal with an emergency of a temporary character. And the last ground why I oppose this measure is that, my Lord, I do not wish to state it by way of any threat or intimidation to Government, but I wish to state it because it is my duty to tell you that, if these measures are passed, you will create in this country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation, the like of which you have not witnessed, and it will have, believe me, a most disastrous effect

upon the good relations that have existed between the Government and the people...

...Therefore, my Lord, it is no use shirking the issue, it is no use hedging round the whole of this question. It is quite clear and it is obvious that this measure is of a most serious character. It is dangerous. It imperils the liberty of the subject and fundamental rights of a citizen and, my Lord, standing here as I do, I say that no man who believes in the freedom and liberty of the people can possibly give his consent to a measure of this character. You have got to make out a very strong case indeed... What is the case you have made out? Because there are some revolutionary conspiracies; because... you have a small section, a few hundreds, or a few thousand if you like, who have taken to revolutionary methods, who have taken to anarchical methods, you come here and say that we are going to enact laws of this character, permanently placing them on the Statute-book, the result of which would be that no man's liberty will be safe in this country...

...The only case you have made out is this, that by means of these extraordinary powers which happened to be placed in your hands owing to the war, perhaps you have been able to deal with this particular kind of crimes more efficiently than otherwise you have done. Now that is no reason for placing these Statutes permanently in the Statute-book... I venture to say, my Lord, that there is not a single non-official Member that is going to support these measures... Not only that. Although the non-official Members in this Council certainly represent a very important volume of public opinion, you have also got the public outside and I venture to say that the whole of the country is opposed to these measures...

... Therefore, will you not listen to us? Does our opinion count for anything or does it not? Does the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the non-official members in this Council count for anything or does it not? I know it counted when you wanted £45 million. Is it or is it not going to count today, and, if so, why not? That is the question I ask.

...You have got already more than ample powers with you, I assure you have got... almost the entire community at your back; because believe me, we do

not wish, and nobody wishes, that there should be anything but ordered progress in this country... what has India shown during this War? The good sense of India, the loyalty of India—not loyalty in that stupid sense in which it is sometimes used, but free sincere cooperation—has been acknowledged. Has India failed during these last few years? Then, my Lord, what is the danger, what is the necessity, that calls for pressing on with this Bill at this moment?...

...All I can say to Mr Ironside is, please peruse your own history, your people in England have fought for this since the time of King John and they have shed their blood in order to maintain this principle that no man's liberty is to be taken away without a trial. It is not the wicked we want to protect... it is the innocent we want to save... Even under the Defence of the Realm Act in England at the time of this great war, no British subject could be interned for more than six days without a trial...

I should like to see a Minister in England or the Government in England, however much they may be convinced of the wisdom of a measure like this, bringing a measure in Parliament; and my Lord, I should like to see Sir Verney Lovett as the Prime Minister. His Premiership will not be worth 24 hours, if he ever dared to bring such a Bill as this. Here the people are opposed and the representatives of the people are opposed...

IN OPPOSITION TO  
THE CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE  
(AMMENDMENT) BILL  
12 SEPTEMBER 1929

I think I am speaking on behalf of a very large body of people when I say that, if there is sympathy and admiration for the accused, it is only to this extent, that they are the victim of the system of Government. It is not that we approve or applaud their actions if they are guilty which still remains to be proved... I am sure a large body of thinking people feel that these young men, whatever be the provocations, are misguided in resorting to actions for which they now stand charged...

. As a matter of fact, according to the admission and the definition given by the Honourable Member who spoke last on behalf of the Treasury Benches, so far as I know, Bhagat Singh and Dutt wear topees, and their figures appeared in shorts. Therefore they ought to have been treated as Europeans. The Honourable Member in reply to a question said that whether the man is European or an Indian—and he accepted the definition of my Honourable friend Mr Neogy that if one wears a topee, then one is a European for the purpose of jail rules—then why should you not treat Bhagat Singh and Dutt who wear topees and European clothes as such for the purpose of treatment in jails. Why do not the Punjab Government give them the treatment that they are entitled to at once and be done with? They wear topees and say they are entitled to that treatment. What do they say in their statement which was read out? This is what they say:

We, Bhagat Singh and Dutt, were sentenced to life transportation in the Assembly bomb case, Delhi, on 19th May 1929. As long as we were under trial prisoners in Delhi jail we were accorded very good treatment and we were given good diet. But since our transfer from Delhi jail to Mianwali jail and Lahore Central Jails

which is represented by the Honourable Member who spoke last—the Punjab seems to be a terrible place... Sir, it is a question of declaration of war. As far as the Punjab Government is concerned, the Government do not merely wish to bring these men to trial and get them convicted by a judicial tribunal, but Government goes to war against these men... I do not for a moment wish to say that the Government are not bound; in fact, it is their bounden duty, to prosecute those people that commit offences. I do not wish to say that the Government should not do everything in their power to see that their convictions are secured... But before they are convicted, surely this is not a matter on which there should be this struggle, that you should not at once yield to their demands for bare necessities of life. After all, so far as the Lahore case prisoners are concerned, surely they are political prisoners and under trial...

Sir, I do not wish to base my opposition to this Bill on this issue of bad treatment, because this is only one



aspect of the issues, or rather one aspect of the Bill before us. This Bill has got to be looked, as far as I can see, from three points of view. The first from the point of view of criminal jurisprudence; second, political point of view or the policy of the Bill and third, treatment to the accused when they are under trial. I think it will be admitted, I think the Honourable the Home Member conceded that by the Bill which he has brought before the House, he is introducing a principle in the criminal jurisprudence of a very unprecedented character. I do not think, Sir, there is any system of jurisprudence in any civilized country where you will find such a principle in existence as is involved in this Bill... This Bill not only dispenses with the presence of the accused at the trial, but I will give you a picture as to what will happen under this Bill. Under this Bill the Government will apply to the Magistrate before whom the inquiry is going on and say:

Here is a law which we have secured from the Legislature. Now the accused have voluntarily made themselves incapable of attending the courts and therefore you have to dispense with their presence.

The inquiry will then proceed *ex parte* before the Magistrate...

Mind you, Sir, I do not approve of the action of Bhagat Singh, and I say this on the floor of this House. I regret that rightly or wrongly youth today in India is stirred up, and you cannot, when you have three hundred and odd millions of people, you cannot prevent such crimes being committed, however much you may deplore them and however much you may say that they are misguided. It is the system, this damnable system of Government, which is resented by the people. You may be a cold blooded logician: I am a patient cool-headed man and can calmly go on making speeches here, persuading and influencing the Treasury Bench. But remember, there are thousands of young men outside. This is not the only country, not youths, but grey-bearded men have committed serious offences moved by patriotic impulses. What happened to Mr Cosgrave, the Prime Minister of Ireland? He was under sentence of death a fortnight before he got an invitation from His Majesty's Government to go and settle terms? Was he a youth? Was he a young

man? What about Collins? So what is the good of your putting forward this argument?...

...I am driven to think, the object of Government in bringing in this Bill is political...

Sir, now I have finished from the point of view of the jurisprudence... But there is a political aspect of this Bill and the policy underlying this measure. I think the Honourable, the Home Member must admit that this is not a measure which is only brought here for the purpose of putting the law in order... But now let's see what is the real cause of the trouble. I ask the House to consider this. Is there today in any part of the globe a civilized government that is engaged day in and day out, week in and week out, month in and month out, in prosecuting their people? You have read the daily papers for the last six or eight months. You will find prosecutions in Bengal, prosecutions in Madras, prosecutions in the Punjab, prosecutions all over the country...

What are the Government to do? They are... [to] try and understand the root cause and deal with the situation as politicians, as statesmen, and not as bureaucrats, who can see no other way but to come forward before this house and ask for more statutory powers the moment any difficulty arises. You have got several courses open to you. The first and foremost course open to you is this. Give these men treatment... Behave as a human and decent Government, and that is enough for you. I am not going to urge upon the Government to withdraw prosecution cases against men if they have evidence enough to bring home to them their guilt. So try that better treatment first. Secondly, if you do not succeed, split up the trials. Try those with whose trial you can proceed, and leave the rest... And the last words I wish to address the Government are, try and concentrate your mind on the root cause...

#### ISLAM—A CODE OF LIFE, EID MESSAGE SEPTEMBER 1945

Every Mussalman knows that the injunctions of the Quran are not confined to religious and moral duties. 'From the Atlantic to the Ganges', says Gibbon, 'the



Quran is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology, but of civil and criminal jurisprudence, and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of mankind are governed by the immutable sanctions of the will of God'. Everyone, except those who are ignorant, know the Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code, it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religions to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life to come, and our Prophet has enjoined on us that every Mussalman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore, Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collectively and individually.

#### SAFEGUARDING THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

14 JULY 1947

Minorities, to whichever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed. They will have their rights and privileges and no doubt, along with it goes the obligation of citizenship. Therefore, the minorities have their responsibilities also and they will play their part in the affairs of this State. As long as the minorities are loyal to the State and owe true allegiance... they need have no apprehension of any kind.



*Quaid-i-Azam offering his prayers at Eidgah Karachi on the first Eid after the birth of Pakistan*

THE DUTY OF A GOVERNMENT AND  
THE FREEDOM OF ITS CITIZENS  
11 AUGUST 1947

You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property, and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State

The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curse from which India is suffering—I do not say that other countries are free from it, but I think our condition is much worse—is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so

If we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely

concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what his colour, caste, or creed, is first, second, and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State...We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State.



*First session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in August 1947 which was presided over by Jaganath Nath Mandal as its President. Jaganath Nath Mandal was the last law minister in the government of India and was nominated by Jinnah from the Muslim League quota on the Viceroy's Council in India. He belonged to the Scheduled Class.*

Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state.

PAKISTAN:

#### A MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENT

31 AUGUST 1947

We have undoubtedly achieved Pakistan, and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of the pen, which is no less mighty than the sword and so our righteous cause has triumphed. Are we now going to besmear and tarnish this greatest achievement for which there is no parallel in the history of the world, by resorting to frenzy, savagery, and butchery? And will this lead us anywhere? Pakistan is now a *fait accompli* and it can never be undone, besides, it was the only just, honourable, and practical solution of the most complex constitutional problem of this great subcontinent.

Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation...Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Mussalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world. It is in your hands, we have undoubtedly talents, Pakistan is blessed with enormous resources and potentialities. Providence has endowed us with all the wealth of nature and now it lies with man to make the best of it.

PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA

11 MARCH 1948

Personally I have no doubt in my mind that our own paramount interests demand that the Dominion of Pakistan and the Dominion of India should co-ordinate for the purpose of playing their part in international affairs and the developments that may take place and also it is of vital importance to Pakistan and India as independent sovereign states to

collaborate in a friendly way jointly to defend their frontiers both on land and sea against any aggression. But this depends entirely on whether Pakistan and India can resolve their own differences, if we can put our house in order internally, then we may be able to play a very great part externally in all international affairs...the Indian Government should shed the superiority complex and deal with Pakistan on an equal footing and fully appreciate the realities.

DUTY TO THE STATE

12 APRIL 1948

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE STUDENTS OF THE  
ISLAMIA COLLEGE, PESHAWAR

I naturally welcome your statement that you do not believe in provincialism. You must learn to distinguish between your love for your province and your love and duty to the State as a whole. Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond provincialism. It demands a broader sense of vision, and a greater sense of patriotism. Our duty to the State often demands that we must be ready to submerge our individual or provincial interests into the common cause for common good. Our duty to the State comes first; our duty to our province, to our district, to our town, and to our village and ourselves comes next. Remember we are building up a State which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World. We, therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanize and weld us all into one united and strong nation. That is the only way in which we can achieve our goal, the goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Mussalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives.

A DEMOCRATIC AND ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION  
FOR PAKISTAN

26 FEBRUARY 1948

IN A BROADCAST TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA RECORDED IN FEBRUARY 1948

The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going

to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future Constitution of Pakistan. In any case, Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims—Hindus, Christians, and Parsis—but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.

#### DANGERS OF PROVINCIALISM

21 MARCH 1948

ADDRESSING A PUBLIC MEETING IN DHAKA

Let me warn you in the clearest terms of the dangers that still face Pakistan, and your province in particular, as I have done already. Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism. As long as you do not throw off this poison in our body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanize yourself into a real, true nation. What we want is not to talk about Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balocha, Pathan, and so on. They are, of course, units. But I ask you: have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us thirteen hundred years ago? If I may point out, you are all outsiders here. Who were the original inhabitants of Bengal—not those who are now living here. So what is the use of saying, 'We are Bengalis, or Sindhis, or Pathans, or Punjabis.' No, we are Muslims. Islam has taught us this, and I think you will agree with me, that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a nation now; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. You have got



*Jinnah with Gandhi at the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in Bombay.*

your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build yourself up into a nation, for God's sake give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism—Shia, Sunni, etc. It was no concern of our predecessor Government; it was no concern of theirs to worry about it; they were here to carry on the administration, maintain law and order, and to carry on their trade and exploit India as much as they could. But now we are in a different position altogether. Now I give you an example. Take America. When it threw off British rule and declared itself independent, how many nations were there? It had many races: Spaniards, French, Germans, Italians, English, Dutch, and many more. Well, there they were. They had many difficulties. But mind you, their nations were actually in existence and they were great nations; whereas you had nothing. You have got Pakistan only now. But there a Frenchman could say 'I am a Frenchman and belong to a great nation', and so on. But what happened? They understood and they realized their difficulties because they had sense, and within a very short time they solved their problems and destroyed all this sectionalism, and they were able to speak not as a German or a Frenchman or an Englishman or a Spaniard, but as Americans. They spoke in this spirit: 'I am an American' and 'We are Americans'. And so you should think, live, and act in



terms that your country is Pakistan and you are a Pakistani.

Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me, you will never be a strong nation, and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve. Please do not think that I do not appreciate the position. Very often it becomes a vicious circle. When you speak to a Bengali, he says: 'Yes you are right, but the Punjabi is so arrogant'; when you speak to the Punjabi or non-Bengali, he says: 'Yes, but these people do not want us here, they want to get us out'. Now this is a vicious circle, and I do not think anybody can solve this Chinese puzzle. The question is, who is going to be more sensible, more practical, more statesmanlike

and will be rendering the greatest service to Pakistan? So make up your mind and from today put an end to this sectionalism.

## BANKING PRACTICES AND ISLAMIC IDEALS

1 JULY 1948

AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE STATE BANK OF PAKISTAN

I shall watch with keenness the work of your Research Organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two world wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency, is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concepts of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of mankind.



*Jinnah with Mr Zahid Hussain the first governor of State Bank of Pakistan*





## Section 4

# *Excerpts from Books on the Freedom Movement*

One place will long cherish Jinnah's memory; there it will remain imperishable. Courage and sheer impudence have won him fame in the law courts. His hypnotic influence bruited his fame abroad and the rumour of his name spreads in accordance with the thrills, his terrific encounters with the judges and bomb-shells he throws in the Courts. As an advocate, he possesses gifts which cast a spell on the courts—the judges, the juries, the solicitors and clients, all alike! As a counsel he has ever held his head erect, unruffled by the worst circumstances. He has been our boldest advocate; no judge dare bully him. He will not brook any insult. Jinnah's ready tongue and brilliant advocacy have warded off all 'judicial storms' and won him all-round admiration. His assertiveness has frightened away judges so as not to damage his practice at the bar in the slightest manner as was the case with the late Sir Edward Marshall Hall who suffered for his flashes of fury. Clients and Solicitors prize Jinnah's services for his matchless grit and courage to stand up for the causes he represents. Certain judges, notorious for their calculated insults to the junior practitioners, hold their tongue when face to face with Jinnah. 'Mr Jinnah, angrily shouted a British Civilian occupant of a Criminal Appellate Bench, transported to the High Court from the Mofussil where he had been accustomed to lord it all over the awed practitioners and frightened litigants, 'you aren't addressing a third class magistrate.' Rapier-like flashed the thrust, the judge none the happier for his thoughtless indiscretion: 'There isn't a third class counsel before your lordship!' The press blazoned forth the retort as the fruit of Jinnah's flourishing forte as an advocate

**V.N. Naik, *Mr Jinnah: A Political Study*,  
Sadbhakti Publications, Bombay, 1947**

'Waste not, want not'—that is his motto, not regards money, for he is no ascetic or miser in that sphere but as regards the talents, the energy, the fire that are his god-given gifts. And the last of these is character—a completely fashioned will, the nerve to reject, and public character. In that respect Mr

Jinnah is impeccable. None can wheedle him into acquiescence by holding out a bait to him. Title, rank, designation he will simply brush aside, and will not let them interfere with the line of action he has marked out for himself. In his public utterances as in private conversation he will never mince matters but will call a spade a spade. He never wastes his words, knows not to indulge in barren verbiage—the tinsel clinking coin of compliment, and never equivocates. He will ever respect a straight forward man, and does not tolerate a man beating about the bush. He brooks no rival near the throne and does not suffer fools gladly. Certainly, he has gathered satellites about him in his recent phase, but he knows that they are satellites and knows when to cut them. He has the minimum of body to go upon but has the spirit in him to cow down a bully. 'No coward soul is his.'

..But Mr Jinnah as President of the meeting, stood firm like a rock. He decided that the meeting should continue, whatever happened, till the business for which it was convened had been finished. He knew who was the ring-leader and how the man



*Quaid-i-Azam with Liaquat Ali Khan at All-India Muslim League Federation Kaimpur rally*



in front of him and the persons placed in the hall were merely carrying out his instructions. He bore it all with patience, but after rowdism had reached a point, he rushed forward, collared the man, and got him ejected from the hall by his chauffeur. In a moment the scene changed and the meeting ended successfully. A police-constable entered the hall in the meanwhile to ask if the meeting needed his help. He was a European Officer who was told straight by the president to clear off, as he did not want him there. Those who witnessed the scene could not but praise the remarkable tact, firmness and cool courage of Mr Jinnah the nationalist, in handling the meeting and finishing the work for which it was called. And this is not the only instance of its kind...

...That showed the strength of character of the public man that is Mr Jinnah at his best. Courage, concentration, and an unimpeachable public character, these were the qualities that enabled him then to dominate the scene, and have enabled him in recent years to recreate and consolidate an organisation that, since 1928, was no more than a name and was 'attenuated to an aspect' by internal rivalries and divisions, and that became such a formidable power in the country and a rival to Congress that it could not ignore, much less wipe out, with all the boast of the Mahatma, the satellites, the High Command and the millions behind it. The Congress in Office, the Congress out of office, and the Congress in office again as an Interim Government have made no difference to Mr Jinnah. His steamroller has moved on straight and firm on the road marked out for it by the driver and the engineer.

...One only regrets that Mr Jinnah should only have given to party, sect and community what was meant for mankind in India. We lost him for India, they won him for Muslims. What history will adjudge, let us not try to judge or anticipate. We are studying a character which, with all its faults is great, and which one cannot fail to admire...

**Woodrow Wyatt, *Confessions of an Optimist*,  
Collins, London, 1985**

If the Cabinet Mission had shown the same attention to the views of Jinnah as to those of Congress, and had sought to butter him up as they did Gandhi, the trauma of that Thursday morning would never have arisen. As I was leaving he said, 'I can talk to you because I know where I am. You don't keep shifting the basis of the conversation every fifteen minutes. If we disagree and I can't persuade you, we both know where we have disagreed.' He then promised to come to the conference that afternoon, adding with a smile, 'And I'll keep coming until someone else breaks it up.' Before the Mission left, Wavell and I agreed that Jinnah was the straightest and easiest of all the Indian politicians to deal with.

At the conference that Thursday afternoon there was some excitement. Nehru and Jinnah got so close to agreement on their understanding of the 'points of agreement' that they were left to talk together in the conference-room while the rest walked up and down the lawn, to the fascination of the Press. When they came back it seemed they had agreed on an umpire to arbitrate where their understanding varied. They said they would meet again outside and return to the conference on Saturday to report progress. In my diary for Friday I wrote:

The fundamental issue at present is that Jinnah will agree to a Union government but is not prepared to accept legislature to go with it that Congress wants. On the other hand Congress are not prepared to agree to the groups having an executive and legislature of their own, which Jinnah regards as vital for his case. How you can arbitrate about this I am not sure.

**Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*,  
Kitab Publishing House, New Delhi, 1998**

To build a secular Pakistan Jinnah sought the help of leaders like Badshah Khan, leader of Khudai-Khidmatgar and an ally of the Indian National Congress in the United India. Jinnah said:

Khan Sahib I know that you are a man of character and integrity. It is honest men like you whose help I need to build up Pakistan. As it is I am surrounded by thieves and scoundrels and through them I can

do little for the poor Muslims who have suffered so much

Jinnah further said:

I am a very much misunderstood man I never wanted all this blood-shed. I want peace, believe me so that I can do something for the masses

He appealed to Khan Sahib to strengthen his position by joining the Muslim League. But the latter was not willing to do so as the League was not a secular body. Jinnah then explained:

I have been myself anxious to convert the League into National League, open to every loyal citizen of Pakistan. But I am being attacked by mad Mullahs and extremists who are out to create trouble for me. That is exactly why I want you and your colleagues to join the League and help me in ousting these dangerous elements

But Khan turned down Jinnah's request and said that he wanted to continue social work. Khan explained his view saying, 'a socially backward people cannot develop a sound political sense and without a sound political sense, there can be no democracy. That is why I am devoting myself to social activity.'

Badshah Khan says that Jinnah was 'deeply moved. He rose from his seat and warmly embraced me and promised to give whatever aid I might require.' He also ordered two-lakhs of spinning wheels, earlier a symbol of mockery for him, for Khan's social work.

He appointed Khaliq-uz-Zaman, an ex-Congressman as the President of the Pakistan Muslim League. He assigned the task of his personal security to an inspector, F.D. Hansotia, a Parsee and refused to remove him when advised so by the authorities on the ground of Hansotia being non-Muslim

**H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide*,  
OUP, Karachi, 1997**

Of all the personalities in the last act of the great drama of India's re-birth to independence, Mahomed Ali Jinnah is at once the most enigmatic and the most important. One can imagine any of the other principal actors (not counting Mahatma Gandhi, who makes but fitful and inconclusive appearances from the wings) replaced by a substitute in the same

role—a different Congress leader, a different Secretary of State, a different representative of this or that interest or community, even a different Viceroy—without thereby implying any radical change in the final dénouement. But it is barely conceivable that events would have taken the same course, that the last struggle would have been a struggle of three, not two, well-balanced adversaries, and that a new nation State of Pakistan would have been created, but for the personality and leadership of one man, Mr Jinnah. The irresistible demand for Indian independence, and the British will to relinquish power in India soon after the end of the Second World War, were the result of influences that had been at work long before the present story of a single decade begins: the protagonists on this side or that of the imperial relationship were tools of historical forces which they did not create and could not control, pilots of vessels borne by winds and tides set in motion long before they took the helm. Whereas the irresistible demand for Pakistan, and the solidarity of the Indian Muslims behind that demand, were creations of that decade alone, and supremely the creations of one man.

**Muhammad Yusuf Buch,  
'The Two Prototypes: Jinnah and Gandhi',  
*Pakistan: Past and Present*  
Stacey International, London, 1976**

Few theatres of politics in modern times have brought together on stage, in the same act or scene, two such leading figures as Jinnah and Gandhi, crossing swords with each other and simultaneously contending with a third looming presence, that of imperialism. A duo drama with such a cast and of such intensity would be enough by itself to inhibit a balanced appraisal; the triangular element made it so complex as to baffle critical evaluation so far.

The inevitable result has been a set of stock responses. Two of them understandably consist of the denigration of each leader by the followers of the other. Indian propagandists have sanctimoniously tried to belittle Jinnah, depicting him as arrogant and obdurate, swayed more by personal ambition than by worthier motives. Muslims have fixed their gaze on the Hindu god's feet of clay and exclusively concentrated on the

large ingredient of cant and humbug in the Gandhian mixture. The third response comes from those Western observers who were so beguiled by the imagery and emanations, rather than the actualities, of the scene that they installed Gandhi in the company of Jesus and Buddha. Having subjectively inflated the drama to Olympian proportions, their perception has lacked focus; specificity has been blurred. When a political situation is viewed not as one of a conflict or harmonization of interests, whether of nations or classes, but in terms of the disembodied ideals of tolerance or prejudice, love or hate, judgment is perverted. From this distorted angle, Jinnah appears to have played the minor, quibbling, querulous, dissident role of championing a sectional interest, legitimate but narrow, rather than of translating a large, universalistic vision into reality. Precision is no match for passion; a character that seeks to bring a rational order into a chaos can never dominate a scene as powerfully as one who summons primordial emotions. From a theatrical, in contrast to a historical viewpoint Jinnah's role in the unique situation of South Asia from the early years of the century to 1947 must seem to be dwarfed in scale.

All these responses are uninfluenced by historical truth. Subjectivity or partisanship apart, all stem from an equal ignorance of the different strands in the Asian-African struggle against Western colonialism. None recognizes the distinct prototypes of leadership in this struggle. Jinnah and Gandhi represent two of these prototypes, as different from each other as either was from the third, represented by Ho Chi Minh. (Since foreign domination confronted them in a different dimension, Mao-tse Tung and Kemal Ataturk fall into a separate frame of reference). The three prototypes are based on three different orientations: one towards the revival of an ethos, actual or imagined, which preceded Western dominance; the second towards the establishment of cohesive, politically independent societies; the third towards the simultaneous liberation from foreign rule and a radical overhauling, of the social structure. In the present context, we are concerned with the constitution of the first two prototypes and the implications of their interchange.

Gandhi's revolt was prompted not so much by his opposition to British imperialism as by his hostility to Western civilization; it was his view of the latter which conditioned his response to the former, not vice versa. 'It is not the British people who are ruling India,' he wrote, 'but it is modern civilization, through its railways and telegraphs.' The view he took of this civilization was not based on an anatomy of its constitution, a knowledge of its historical roots or an assessment of its vitality and weakness. It was a case of pure allergy. Nothing can drive one to such extremes as an allergic revulsion; more than any other actor in history, Gandhi articulated these extremes. 'Medical science is the concentrated essence of black magic; quackery is infinitely preferable; hospitals are the devil's instruments.' In an article in *Harijan* in 1939, he listed the wearing of socks as one of the symbols of the four-fold degradation brought by British rule to India. His refusal to send his sons to school, his insistence that 'India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the last fifty years' and his emphasis on the use of the spinning wheel as a passport to instant *nirvana* were but three of the many expressions of an attitude which was wholly atavistic in spirit and in substance.

That the resultant mumbo-jumbo did not repel intelligent observers or earn Gandhi dismissal as a faddist was due partly to the utterances of an epic grandeur about freedom which also came from him at crucial moments, partly to his deification by Hindus but also, in great measure, to that sense of deadlock, that feeling of having reached a spiritual *cul de sac*, that philosophical predicament which has assailed the more sensitive thinkers of the West. Gandhi made an enormous impact on the Western mind, particularly at that point in its history when imperial aggrandisement was beginning to sap its moral confidence, when the evils of the industrial revolution were becoming manifest and when the career of aggressive nationalism, with its trail of wars was accentuating a pervasive fear, Gandhi's message dramatically incorporated those that had issued earlier from Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau. It seemed to furnish 'an anodyne for the pain of the Western enterprise'. This went with a cult of voluntary simplicity and the proclamation, in almost Biblical



prose, of *ahimsa* or 'soul-force' as a weapon of political struggle. The applause that Gandhi received from the West testified to the West's romantic idealism, a countervailing element against its acquisitiveness and domination.

But both the attitude of Gandhism and its endorsement in the West betrayed a gross misreading of the historical situation and of the nature of the Westernizing process. Imperialism was an excrescence, a cancerous growth on Westernization, not its pulse. The quickening force was supplied by the scientific method, the spread of technology and new channels of communication. This is now a palpable reality; the end of colonialism has not arrested but accelerated the pace of Westernization. Being largely ignorant of Western culture, its philosophical antecedents, its tradition in the arts and its thrust in social analysis, taking only what was grist to his own mill, Gandhi was unable to understand the plasticity of Western civilization and its capacity for self-reform and self-renewal. (Marx and Freud were no oriental *gurus*). More importantly, he could not perceive that the core of Westernization was not the implantation on other societies of the modes and categories of Western thought but an irresistible alteration of human consciousness whose influence would percolate across racial or national frontiers. Neither Gandhi nor his Western admirers recognized that the corrective for the excesses of standardization would be supplied not by a regression, a return to an Edenic rural simplicity, but by the assertion of values that are not embedded in certain archetypes and do not wither when their social context disappears.

The disruptive effect of the insertion of this archaism on the independence movement in British India, the confusions it engendered and the misdirection of energies that it caused, is a significant chapter of South Asian history. It could not comprehend the character of British colonialism, which, despite its deformities, was amenable to a dialogue oriented towards the attainment of freedom in time. As Iqbal acutely pointed out, Gandhi did not come to terms with historical time; his mind dwelt on the instant. Since it also gave primacy to symbols over concepts, Gandhi's three great campaigns were directed towards unrealizable goals. In 1921, it was '*swaraj* inside a year'.

When that prospect receded, it was the instantaneous abolition of the salt tax in 1931. In 1942, he urged the British to 'quit India' when they were beleaguered by Nazi Germany and a militarist Japan. The contradictions in which Gandhi recurrently landed himself the call to the British 'to fight Nazism without arms' and the protest that 'the blackest misdeed of British rule in India was to deprive a whole nation of arms', the tepid reaction to the massacre at Jallianwalabagh (1919) and the pretended outrage at British treatment of Ottoman Turkey, the issue of a week-long ultimatum on 1 February 1922 and its abrupt withdrawal on 5 February under the guise of 'a fierce process of purification' after the hardly unforeseeable Chauri Chaura incident, are examples—were the reflections not of unintelligence but of the derangement and despair caused by activating non-political impulses in a political movement.

Conventional history recalls this movement as having been vertically divided between Hindu and Muslim. While this is true, there was a horizontal division as well: this was between the revivalists and the modernists. The latter aimed at the reconciliation of different interests; they wanted political action, through demonstration and dialogue, leading to the progressive achievement of freedom. Their displacement by Gandhi evoked many a protest: Tagore's at the abdication of reasoning and the reign of blind obedience; C.R. Das's fervent plea, 'For God's sake, Mahatma, we want logic, not magic', to give two examples. But while these lesser figures were awed by the massive backing Gandhi received and swamped by the lava thrown by a volcanic eruption, it was Jinnah alone who remained uncoerced and who persevered in his own search for clarity and coherence. The two parts of Jinnah's political life—the earlier nationalist and the later separatist—are divided by no schism; on the contrary, they are but two phases of the same quest for an internally consistent political entity which would reclaim its inheritance of freedom. Considering the Hindus' submission to the Gandhian cult *en masse* and considering also the historical constituents and geographical placement of the Indo-Muslim community, that entity for Jinnah could only be Muslim. This is what made the Quaid not only the



founder of Pakistan but also the sole statesman who did not let his thesis be destroyed or submerged by the Gandhian antithesis.

The resultant confrontation between the two was prompted by no animus, at least from Jinnah's side. 'If only Gandhi had a touch of Lenin in him', Jinnah said to Dewan Chaman Lal in 1928, 'the history of the last few years would have been different.' Earlier, he had cooperated with Gandhi in the Home Rule League, before Gandhi chose to destroy it. The divergence between the two was as much in political perception as in moral posture. The world-view which made Gandhi envisage India as 'the predominant partner in a world-commonwealth' (1928) was obviously myopic and self-centred. Such exaggerations repelled Jinnah. But what was morally suspect in his eyes was the hubris, the xenophobia, the release of hatreds, the rigidity, that come from a reliance on 'the inner light' to which others can have no access. 'I shudder to contemplate the consequences of your programme', Jinnah wrote to Gandhi in 1921. The consequences were a bitter harvest in the shape of the holocaust of 1947.

In the process of his great achievement, Gandhi resorted to the ethically perilous practice of employing the language of spiritual aspiration for the attainment of a limited and specifically political end—the

creation of one more nation-state, albeit a large and populous one, among scores of other nation-states. Jinnah could not bear even the taint of such a pollution. Those of his own followers who loaded an excessively rhetorical cargo on the idea of Pakistan belonged psychologically in Gandhi's camp. The later advance of the anti-colonialist movement in Asia and Africa and the development of newly emancipated states have underlined the irrelevance of the Gandhian approach to Asian-African needs and the continuing necessity, in ordering the affairs of these societies, of the rational dialogue and adjustment which Jinnah pre-eminently exemplified.

*In Quest of Jinnah*, edited by  
Sharif Al Mujahid, OUP, Karachi, 2007

### 'Recollections'

Francis Mudie

About this time too, I discovered his charm. And it was not put on if he liked you—and I think that he liked me—he was naturally charming. I stayed with him in Karachi a few days before he made what turned out to be his last journey to Ziarat. He was very ill at the time, spending most of his time in bed. We had had rather a violent difference of opinion about the Punjab Ministry and yet within two hours, he got up from what was really his deathbed to say goodbye to me at three in the afternoon and could not have been nicer. There was no hint of our difference and not even a reference to the difficulties that I would obviously encounter in carrying out his policy. We might have been the oldest friends

And he was not really cold. I remember one very revealing occasion when he was staying with me in September 1947. Everything in Lahore and the Punjab was chaos. Refugees were arriving daily by tens of thousands and Sikhs and Hindus going out. My niece and Jinnah and I were sitting having a drink before dinner, when he suddenly said 'This is very tragic—but very thrilling' and his eyes flashed with excitement. It was tragic, but it was thrilling, like a battle. And particularly thrilling to Jinnah. Here was his Pakistan at last in being. Here was the exchange of population, which he had been ridiculed



Meeting with the South Commission. Last photo after a meeting in Quetta, 1947

for suggesting, actually taking place. Possibly what he said was the wrong thing to say. The cold hard lawyer would never have said it. But it revealed the great emotional strain under which he had been living under the cold exterior and we sympathized.

In judging Jinnah, we must remember what he was up against. He had against him, not only the wealth and brains of the Hindus, but also of nearly the whole of British officialdom and most of the Home politicians, who made the great mistake of refusing to take Pakistan seriously. Never was his position really examined. There was no examination of the questions of what the Muslims were afraid of and of whether there was any way to remove their fears, other than the partition. Instead there was nothing but politics and what looked very [much] like attempts to trap Jinnah into some difficult position or the other. And when Jinnah did not fall into the trap, when in response to the question 'what will Jinnah do now?' Jinnah just did nothing; he was of course 'cold and intransigent'. When he did respond, as he did when the Cabinet Mission came to India, he was rebuffed and drew himself more into his shell. No man who had not the iron control of himself that Jinnah had could have done what he did.

But it does not follow that he was really cold. In fact no one who did not feel as Jinnah did, could have done what he did. I was very interested to hear that he knew that he was a dying man when Mountbatten came to India. He was in bed in my home, in Lahore for three weeks in late 1947 and never, even by sign, indicated that he would not shortly be all right again.

I am afraid that what I have written will be of little use to you, but I hope that I have shown that there was another side to Jinnah's character than that generally presented to the public and to those who, he felt, were not in sympathy with him.

### **'Jinnah'**

**Ian Stephens**

The man who brought Pakistan into being, an independent country of more than 80 million people, certainly needed a biographer. It is six years since Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah died; and although some in

Britain may remember him as just one of India's many contending politicians, he ranks, on what he achieved in 1946-8, among the international figures of this century; a nation-builder; someone whom historians may have to mention with Bismarck or Cavour.

The State which he created has experienced crises; but it exists, in prohibitive facts of geography and economics and of initial disbelief in its feasibility by Hindus and most British. 'Few take it seriously,' Mr Nehru felt able to say, well on into the 1940s, 'except for a small handful of persons.' How wrong events proved him! A main reason for this was Jinnah's character—but not the sole reason. That Pakistan has survived, in spite of loss of her creator soon after her birth and of his chief helper, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, in 1951, and in spite of a continuing cold war with India and scepticism of ignorance about her prospects elsewhere, shows that she was not the 'dream-child' of a contemptuously termed 'handful.' Jinnah was the greater realist.

Mr Bolitho's biography, therefore, from its subject, is necessarily important. It can scarcely be accounted final, however. Like much else connected with Pakistan, it was done amidst strange difficulties. The preface does not mention these; there is a gentlemanly omission only. But students of Pakistani affairs will be aware that contrary to expectations, he got no help whatever from Miss Jinnah, the possessor of the private political papers; and the only person qualified to tell much about her brother's early, obscurer years. As result, the book is uneven.

It may well be, however, as he suggests, that Jinnah was temperamentally indisposed to write or speak self-revealingly, and that a biographer enjoying generous 'access to sources' would be faced with numerous gaps.

Making allowances for these perhaps double limitations the book depicts Jinnah for us with surprising, sometimes brilliant clarity; aloof, as in life, but by no means inhuman; a hard, impressive actuality; immaculately clad, fastidious, lonely; having immense self-confidence, and integrity. First the early phase of self-made success as an advocate in Bombay; the marriage; tragically unsuccessful; politics—for years as

a supporter of Hindu-Moslem unity; then disillusion, as a result of the Congress leaders' conduct at the All Parties' Conference in 1928; withdrawal to England, return, and the sustained campaign for Muslim separateness which culminated in the tremendous events of 1947—during which he overworked himself into his fatal illness. It is an enthralling story, and Mr Bolitho tells it with practiced skill great care has evidently been taken to seek accurate data from everyone who had Jinnah's acquaintanceship.

Perhaps the outstanding impression is of the tragic folly of those Congress leaders who by failure to respond to the Moslems' honest misgivings about their future caused a person of such pre-eminent

talents as Jinnah to quit their company and seek his own courses. But for that profound failure in tactics and psychology, partition of the subcontinent might never have been called for

*Manchester Guardian, 4 January 1955*

## 'Jinnah, the Creator of Pakistan'

Percival Spear

If Mr Bolitho has not written a full life he has certainly sketched a vivid portrait. What was the secret of Jinnah's personality? The secret of its make-up, I believe, is to be found in his early life, if and when this can be fully revealed. But whatever the factors may be which compounded his character, the main ingredients stand out clearly enough. Behind the stiffness, the irritability, the calculated rudeness, the hauteur, all symptoms of some deep-seated malaise or psychic hurt, certain qualities stand forth which gave him his power. The first was his massive and at times meticulous integrity. Jinnah was not only incorruptible in a world of easy standards, but also single-minded. Sacrifice of principle was no more in his nature than compromise with money. This was a secret of his power and the failure to perceive this quality a major cause of his underestimation. Financial honesty was readily conceded, but it was generally supposed that personal ambition and love of power was the next most important constituent. It was widely thought that his championship of Pakistan was induced by resentment at the Congress rejection of his overtures at the time of the 1937 elections and exclusion of League nominees from their provincial ministries. I think Mr Bolitho has shown that he risked and apparently wrecked his career in the twenties in the interests of communal unity, that his return to India in 1934 was in the nature of a forlorn hope, and that he resisted Iqbal's persuasive separatism until the Congress made it clear that there could be no political cooperation with it but only subordination or absorption. What finally made Jinnah a communalist was Congress totalitarianism Congress *hubris* rather than Jinnah's wounded vanity precipitated the great change-over



*Addressing a gathering at the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore*



To personal integrity and devotion to principle must be added courage and the absence of petty feelings or motives. Whether holding the balance between Swaraj and government forces in the Assemblies of the mid-twenties, or facing Hindu contumely in the All-parties discussions, or pursuing a lonely course against the prestige of a Gandhi or the determination of a government immersed in a world war, or standing firm against the pressures of the post-war negotiations his courage never faltered. The elegant man of fashion was no wooden figure painted to look like iron, but made of finely tempered steel. His single-mindedness created respect and drew men to him when other programmes and leaders had failed, his clarity of vision provided a beacon for their hopes, and his courage sustained them in their efforts. He was not a man who fitted into a situation, but one to whom a situation must be fitted. In other times he might have been nothing more than an eminent lawyer or polished parliamentary politician. Jinnah's greatness lay in his inherent qualities; they did not develop as the result of a crisis, but were revealed by the particular crisis which occurred. If one searches for a parallel character in the Valhalla of great men one will need to go far before finding one comparable for combined taciturnity and aloofness and power of leadership. No recent of figure in British politics will serve and we return to the Victorian age before there emerges the figure of Charles Stuart Parnell. The Irish leader and Jinnah had many points of resemblance. Both stood somewhat apart from their own people, the one as a Protestant leader of Catholics and landlord leader of tenants, the other as an unorthodox Muslim, the westernised leader of an Islamic revival, the professional director of a mass movement who could not speak his people's language. Both had the knack of leadership by repulsion; the more they withdrew from or disdained their followers, the more they were run after. Both lacked eloquence or charm in the ordinary sense; they attracted attention by their single-mindedness and sheer force of character. The power of both seemed to feed on intransigence. Both enshrouded their private lives in mystery. Parnell's whole life has been dragged in the public light and dissected in great detail; Jinnah's remains largely obscure. May we not hope that further reflection on

the known facts of Parnell's life may furnish fresh clues to the secrets of Jinnah's personality?

### **'Mohammed Ali Jinnah'**

**T.W. Hutton**

India's independence and partition are still too near for a definitive biography of Jinnah to be possible. Hector Bolitho, a conscientious and practised writer, has produced instead a completely satisfying interim report on a very great man. He is not wholly unbiased; to the personal liking for his subject which must always actuate any biographer worth his salt he adds sympathy with Pakistani aspirations. His honesty, though, always stands watch-dog over his partiality, and both are dominated by his conscience as student

He took two years to write this book, visiting both Pakistan and India; published works apart, he read innumerable diaries and letters; more important, he talked frequently with people who themselves had talked with Jinnah. Repeatedly some quotation from somebody who knew Jinnah is footnoted: 'In conversation with the author.' In sum, a good book, admirably written, fair on the political side and revealing on the personal side, well-seasoned with anecdotes at once apt and entertaining.

Historians, doubtless, will turn first to the political side. Here two points of first-rate importance emerge—that Jinnah became a Moslem League man and an advocate of partition both tardily and with reluctance; and that as constitutionalist and lawyer, he was slower than any of his fellow-countrymen, to agitate for self-government.

It is significant on the first point that the most important friendship of Jinnah's early years was with Gokhale, greatest of Hindu statesmen. Only with Gokhale dead and Gandhi dominating Congress did Jinnah give up hope of a united India. Even in 1940, he was writing of 'two nations who must both share the governance of their common motherland.'

On the other point, Jinnah recognised, publicly and early, the value to India of the British connection. Hence doubtless his happy relations, after the transfer



of power, with soldiers and civilians who stayed on—or came back at his request—to serve Pakistan.

Unlike historians, biographers must put the personal side first. Mr Bolitho succeeds in the task, by no means easy, of making attractive in retrospect a Jinnah many of his contemporaries, even his intimates, found easier to admire than to love. Nor is it done merely by the poignant account of Jinnah's gracious spirit in his last, long illness. On the contrary, one begins to like him early. Maybe the key sentence, albeit used in political connection, is this: 'He believed that to stir the masses by way of their emotions was a sin.'

This fear of emotion dominated Jinnah personally; made him 'hard, though never harsh.' Only very late in life did he allow himself to be kind. A constitutionalist, he feared sentiment; a realist, he was very sure of himself, not always of others. He lacked all personal ambition, went into politics as a servant of his fellow-men only when his own fortunes were secure, and returned from England's ease, against his inclinations, only when his friends convinced him India needed a revived Moslem League.

In negotiation he was rigid: bargaining, he gave and expected supreme honesty; denied it, he became resentful, suspicious, difficult. This, in the discussions that preceded and followed transfer of power, handicapped him alongside such men as Nehru and Gandhi.

Yet in the end his character secured, if not victory, substantial success. It won for this Karachi-born Moslem, who made most of his speeches in English, such affection, despite himself, as the East reserves for few of her sons. As time passes, Jinnah's figure will bulk greater; the affection that came to him tardily will endure.

*Birmingham Post, 23 November 1954*





## *Section 5*

# *Impressions*

## Beverley Nichols

The most important man in Asia is sixty-seven, tall, thin, and elegant, with a monocle on a grey silk cord, and a stiff white collar which he wears in the hottest weather. He suggests a gentleman of Spain, a diplomat of the old school; one used to see his like sitting in the window of the St. James' Club, sipping Contrexeville while he read *Le Temps*, which was propped against a Queen Anne toast rack stacked with toast Melba

I have called Mr Jinnah 'the most important man in Asia'. That was to ensure that you kept him spot lit in your mind. Like all superlatives the description is open to argument, but it is not really so far from the truth. India is likely to be the world's greatest problem for some years to come, and Mr Jinnah is in a position of unique strategic importance. He can sway the battle this way or that as he chooses. His hundred million Muslims will march to the left, to the right, to the front, to the rear at his bidding, and at nobody else's...that is the point. It is not the same in the Hindu ranks. If Gandhi goes, there is always Nehru, or Rajagopalachari, or Patel or a dozen others. But if Jinnah goes, who is there?

By this I do not mean that the Muslim League would disintegrate—it is far too homogenous and virile a body—but that its actions would be incalculable. It might run completely off the rails, and charge through India with fire and slaughter; it might start another war. As long as Jinnah is there, nothing like this will happen

And so, you see, a great deal hangs on the grey silk cord of that monocle

## Edgar Snow

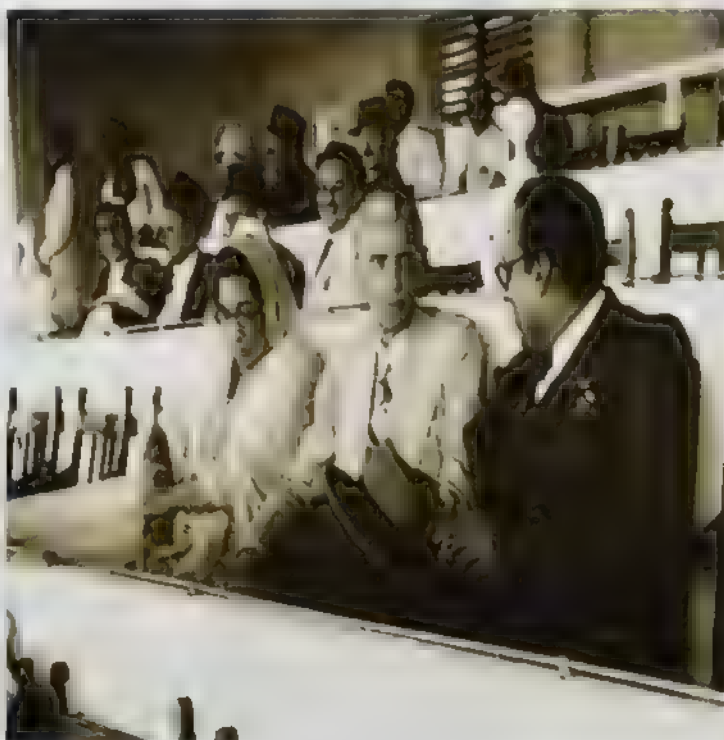
Even if one only appraised Jinnah as a barrister, it would be acknowledged that he had won the most monumental judgment in the history of the Bar. Jinnah had been the George Washington of Pakistan.

## Lady Wavell

Mr Jinnah was one of the handsomest men I have ever seen; he combined the clear-cut, almost Grecian features of the West with Oriental grace of movement.

## Aga Khan III

Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life—Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mahatma Gandhi—Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of these men, in my view, outshone him in strength of character and in that almost uncanny combination of prescience and resolution which is statecraft.



Mr Jinnah visited the Royal Indian Turf Club, Bombay as Lady Rahimtoola's guest. Quaid here along with Lady Kulsum Rahimtoola and Habib I Rahimtoola in the 'Rahimtoola Box'. Courtesy: personal collection of the Rahimtoola Family





*Section 6*  
*Personal Recollections*

## MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH: AMBASSADOR OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Sarojini Naidu

Few figures of the Indian Renaissance are so striking or so significant; to a student of psychology none more singularly attractive by the paradox of a rare and complex temperament, of strange limitations and subtle possibilities, that hides the secret of its own greatness, like a pearl within a shell.

Never was there a nature whose outer qualities provided so complete an antithesis of its inner worth. Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation, languid and luxurious of habit, Mohammad Ali Jinnah's attenuated form is a deceptive sheath of a spirit of exceptional vitality and endurance. Somewhat formal and fastidious, and a little aloof and imperious of manner, the calm hauteur of his accustomed reserve but masks, for those who know him, a naive and eager humanity, an intuition quick and tender as a woman's, a humour gay and winning as a child's—pre-eminently rational and practical, discreet and dispassionate in his estimate and acceptance of life, the obvious sanity and serenity of his worldly wisdom effectually disguise a shy and splendid idealism which is of the very essence of the man.

In the autumn of 1910 he was elected by the Mussalmans of Bombay Presidency as their representative to the Supreme Legislative Council, and though the question naturally arises as to how far it was consistent with the avowed principle of so staunch a nationalist to represent a purely sectarian interest, the fact nevertheless remains that Mohammad Ali Jinnah invariably lent his willing support to every liberal measure involving the larger national issues like Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, to which conservative India as a whole was so valiantly opposed. His only original work, however, during the period was in connection with the Wakf Validating Bill, to introduce which he was specially nominated for an extra term in 1913 by Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy. His admirable skill and tact in piloting through such an intricate and controversial measure—the first instance of a Bill passing into legislation on the motion of a private member—won him not only the appreciation of his colleagues but also his first need

of general recognition from his co-religionists all over India, who while still regarding him a little outside the orthodox pale of Islam were so soon to seek his advice and guidance in their political affairs.

...Mohammad Ali Jinnah, pledged to the greater national welfare, had with characteristic independence and honesty kept apart from a movement till then so frankly and exclusively sectarian in its purpose. But by an act of courtesy which was in itself a graceful acknowledgment of his merits he was invited to attend the Calcutta Conference and also the later Council meeting where, being specially requested to speak, he gave his informal and invaluable support to Clause D of the new Constitution which materially embodies the Congress ideal of 'Attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of Self Government suitable to India through constitutional means, by bringing about, among others, a steady reform of the existing system of administration by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose.'

...In May 1914 he returned to England as a member of the All-India Congress Deputation concerning the proposed reform of the India Council. He had already in this connection moved resolutions both at the Karachi sessions of the Congress a few months earlier and at the Agra session of the Muslim League.

...The tragic death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in February 1915 brought Hindus and Mussalmans close together in a bond of common loss and sorrow. It was keenly felt that the time was now ripe for a more direct and definite rapprochement between the two great communities that had so recently exchanged such cordial expressions of goodwill and fellowship from afar.

The Indian National Congress was to hold its sittings that year in Bombay, and there could be no better centre of reconciliation than this cosmopolitan capital of India. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, supported at the time by all the leading local Mussalmans, sent an invitation to the All-India Muslim League to hold its next annual session in Bombay during the national week in December.

The story of that invitation and its startling sequel is too well known to be re-told in all the details of its shameful and subterranean intrigue so carefully conceived, so cleverly manipulated. Sufficient to say that in an hour of such grave and bitter crisis calculated to shatter the master-dream of Indian nationalism, this dauntless soldier of unity rose to the heights of an invincible patriotism. With a proud and splendid indifference to all personal suffering and sacrifice, heedless alike of official dissuasion or disfavour, the aggressive malice and machinations of his opponents, or even the temporary injustice of distant friends, Mohammad Ali Jinnah strove with an incomparable devotion and courage to create that supreme moment in our national history which witnessed the birth of new India, redeemed and victorious in the love of her united children.

Seldom has the pageant of time unrolled a scene so touching, so thrilling, so magnificent with drama and destiny as was enacted on the afternoon of 30 December 1915, when amidst the tears and applause of a gathered multitude the veteran heroes of the National Congress entered in a body to greet and bless their comrades of the Muslim League.

...Towards the close of 1916 Mohammad Ali Jinnah was called upon to make a public declaration of his political creed as President of the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Ahmadabad in October and, two months later, as President of the All India Muslim League at Lucknow. Both in his Gujarat address in which he indicated a tentative system of administrative reforms partly based on Gokhale's Scheme, since published, and in his Lucknow pronouncement where he so firmly and clearly defined the place and purpose of Muslim India in the national regeneration, he proved the remarkable breadth and boldness of his statesmanship, his consummate grasp of both the transitional phases and the abiding principles of political evolution, and his incorruptible faith in the vision of a free and federated India claiming her honoured place and making her matchless contribution in the mighty republic of world nations and civilisations.

As a speaker Mohammad Ali Jinnah has the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery,

and a voice which, while lacking volume, has an arresting timbre. But though occasionally he has attained a moment of wholly unconscious and stirring eloquence, he has the cogent force of a brilliant advocate rather than the flowing fervour of a brilliant orator. And it is not on a public platform but at a round table conference that he finds full scope for his unusual powers of persuasion, luminous exposition, searching argument and impeccable judgment. It is an open secret that his was a large and open share in the recent discussions regarding the Muslim University as well as the anxious deliberations of the joint Congress-League Committee that sat at Lucknow last year to formulate a scheme of Indian reforms elaborated from the Memorandum of the Nineteen.

...A casual pen might surely find it easier to describe his limitations than to define his virtues. His are none of the versatile talents that make so many of his contemporaries justly famed beyond the accepted circle of their daily labours. Not his gracious gifts of mellow scholarship, or rich adventure or radiant conversation; not his burning passion of philanthropy or religious reforms. Indeed, by his sequestered tasks and temperament Mohammad Ali Jinnah is essentially a solitary man with a large political following but few intimate friendships, and outside the twin spheres of law and politics he has few resources and few accomplishments.

But the true criterion of his greatness lies not in the range and variety of his knowledge and experience but in the faultless perception and flawless refinement of his subtle mind and spirit; not in a diversity of aims and the challenge of a towering personality but rather in a lofty singleness of purpose and the lasting charm of a character animated by a brave conception of duty and an austere and lovely code of private honour and public integrity.

The tale of his actual contribution is still comparatively slender. But it is not by the substance but by the rare significance of his patriotic service that he holds today his unique place in front rank of our national leaders.

Like others of our generation he suffers from a system of education so widely separated from the familiar traditions and culture of our race, and lacking the

magic of a common medium, he may never perhaps hope to establish between himself and his people that instructive and inviolable kinship that makes the interned Mohammad Ali, for instance, a living hero of the Mussalmans and Mahatma Gandhi a living idol of the masses.

But it is nonetheless his personal triumph and a testimony to his authentic mission that he stands approved and confirmed by his countrymen not merely as an ambassador but an embodied symbol of the Hindu-Muslim unity

Who can foretell the secrets of tomorrow? Who foresee the hidden forces that sometimes work to build our destiny higher than our dream? Perchance it is written in the book of the future that he whose fair ambition it is to become the Muslim Gokhale may in some glorious and terrible crisis of our national struggle pass into immortality as the Mazzini of the Indian liberation.

### Gopal Krishna Gokhale

Jinnah has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim Unity.

### THE QUAID-I-AZAM AS I KNEW HIM

Dewan Chaman Lal

#### *Chairman of Bombay Chronicle*

The next morning I received a telephone call asking whether I would like to take on the leadership of *The Bombay Chronicle*. Jinnah was then the Chairman of the Board of Directors. I agreed on the condition that I would not join earlier than after the summer was over and left immediately for Mussoorie

#### *Firm Stand*

It was the Budget Session, Jinnah was approached along with Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar of Malaviyaji's Party for the purpose of united action on the budget. The Swarajist suggestion was that all items in the Budget should be voted down. Jinnah's view was that this was unconstitutional and revolutionary and that,

for the purpose of demonstration, it was necessary to vote down only the first item and discuss the others on their merits. The fat was in the fire. Along with Tulsī Goswami I went to and fro from Eastern Court to Maidens Hotel trying to bring about an understanding but, alas! in vain. Both Motilal Nehru and Jinnah stood firm, an augury of what was to happen a few years later.

We had on the one side the 'khadi'-clad leaders of the Swarajya Party and on the other the tall, fine figure of Jinnah dressed in a morning coat and striped trousers. His ties were always a wonder to us. My wife asked him one day whether it was a mere surmise on her part or the truth that Jinnah never wore a tie twice. Jinnah looked pleased and said: 'Well, seldom, very seldom.' I reminded him of the day we spent together in Paris in 1928 roaming the shops to buy ties and





shirts. After seeing hundreds of ties he, at last, chose one—he was fastidious to that extent. And as for shirts, he had them made for him at Charves in Paris and pretty nearly put me on short rations because I could not resist ordering a few myself.

#### *Hard as Steel*

Friendly as he always was, he could be on occasions as hard as steel. Somehow or other a rift had arisen between husband and wife and the same year in Paris I found Rati Jinnah almost on her death-bed at a Champs Elysee clinic. A message was waiting for me to call at the clinic immediately on my arrival from Geneva where I had gone as head of the Indian workers delegation to the I.L.O. Conference. They took the suitcases out and I continued my journey in the same taxi to the clinic. Rati had a temperature of 106 degrees. She was delirious. I came home and telephoned London for Jinnah who, unfortunately, was in Dublin at the time. A message was relayed to him in Dublin and he arrived in Paris not immediately but two days late.

#### *Rati Jinnah*

At the George V, where he stayed, he said to me, 'But Lady Petit (his mother-in-law) tells me Rati is better.' I said: 'I have just come from the clinic and it seems to me she, with a temperature of 106 degrees, is dying.' He sat still for a couple of minutes, struggling with himself and asked me to telephone the clinic which I did. He spoke to the nurse in charge who confirmed what I had told him. Thumping the arm of his chair, he said: 'Come, let us go. We must save her.'

I left him at the clinic for nearly three hours waiting at a nearby cafe and when he returned, the anxiety had vanished from his face. He had arranged for a new clinic and a new medical adviser and all was going to be well. But alas! although Mrs Jinnah recovered, she did not stay on with her husband but returned ahead of him to Bombay and I do not think they met again.

#### THE VOICE OF INDIA

##### Frank Moraes

As I said good-bye in his friendly study with its rows of books lining the walls, I could not help recalling

the drama of his crowded career. Mr Jinnah has an enthusiasm and energy which many younger men must envy.

Tall, slim, immaculately dressed with keen, aquiline features, fast greying hair in which a white lock stands aggressively like a proud plume, combining reserve with charm, he has still about him the air of a *beau sabreur* in politics.

There are some who accuse him of Curzonian hauteur. It is true he does not suffer fools gladly. But from his lonely eyrie—and one cannot escape the impression that he remains, despite his following, a lonely man—Mr Jinnah is far from being the exclusive recluse he is painted to be.

One of the last things he said before I rose to go concerned the so-called Untouchables. 'Their lot,' said Mr Jinnah, 'is truly tragic. To them justice has been denied and there are few they can call their friends. Their voice counts for little. That is why, in a sense, they are closer to me than my own Muslims. I have tried to do all I can for them—at the Round Table Conference and elsewhere. To better their lot I would do almost anything.'

Hardly the remark of a haughty person.

[*Times of India*, Bombay, 10 September 1939]

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The Quaid-i-Azam is assured of a place among the great Muslims of our time. Kemal Ataturk revived the ramshackle State which was Turkey. But Jinnah's achievement was in a sense more considerable. Out of next to nothing he willed a State into being.. The ifs of history are fascinating, and if Mohammad Ali Jinnah had not taken upon himself to lead a crusade for an Islamic Land of the Pure, it is problematical whether Pakistan would ever have been established.

#### I REMEMBER

##### M.A.H. Isphahani

When grateful Pakistanis think of the Quaid-i-Azam they think of him as a man who was a great advocate and a man who matched his wits against the best of Hindu and British politicians and won

for the Muslims of our subcontinent a homeland. Very rarely does one hear or read of the invaluable service he has rendered to the Muslim Nation in other departments of life. For example, how many know of the leading and inspiring part he played in the creation of commercial and industrial institutions which are now taken for granted in our country? How many know that it was the Quaid-i-Azam's drive which brought into being several Muslim Chambers of Commerce in the subcontinent and also the Federation of Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi?

I was entrusted with the task of organising the Federation and had to work for about a year to get it started. Had it not been for the generous support, which included financial assistance, given by the late Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood and my elder brother, Mirza Ahmed Ispahani, the creation of the Federation and its existence would have been impossible. When the Federation held its first meeting at New Delhi, it planted just one more landmark on the road to Muslim awakening and this, as I have stated, was the result of the Quaid-i-Azam's imagination and guidance.

I remember also how the Orient Airways was founded. When I was in Delhi in June 1946 on one of my routine visits, and was lunching with the Quaid-i-Azam at his Aurangzeb Road home and discussing provincial and national politics, he suddenly cut me short and said: 'It is very well to talk of Muslims as a nation and to demand a separate homeland for them, a homeland in which they could live according to their own lights and shape their own destiny, but you realise that such a state would be useless if we did not have the men, the material and the wherewithal to run it? Do you realise that in India there is not a single airline which is owned or operated by Muslims? You should know how many Muslim civil pilots and mechanics we have in the country? How can we do anything with this inadequacy of material—material every nation must have in large numbers?'

The Quaid-i-Azam was emphasising a fact. I replied that he was absolutely right. He stood up and with the characteristic gesture of his hand, which his disciples remember so well, said: 'What is the use of admitting all this? Get up and do something about it.'

I tried to argue with him that the starting of an airline was a tremendous undertaking, that it would cost a packet of money and it would have to face much opposition from vested interests, particularly Hindu, before the new company, owned, financed and operated by Muslims, as he envisaged, would be allowed to operate.

He replied to the effect that we should trust in God, have faith in our cause and go ahead. He, as a 'poor man' would purchase shares in the company to prove that he backed his idea with financial participation. He asked me to discuss the matter with Sir Adamjee and my brother in Calcutta and get busy with the task of registering an Airline.

When these two gentlemen were told that it was the Quaid-i-Azam's order that something should be done, they did not wait to think, and we set to work on the floatation of the Orient Airways. The Orient Airways was not only the first and sole Muslim airline operated in pre-Partition India but the first all Muslim public liability undertaking of its kind in the commercial and industrial history of Muslim India. Shares were bought by Muslims in every corner of the subcontinent; some bought scrips for substantial amounts and there were others with limited means who were happy to have just one share worth Rs 25 or Rs 5. Poor as they were, they wanted to have the honour of participating in a Muslim undertaking which had the blessings and support of the Quaid-i-Azam.

...Those who had the privilege of knowing the Quaid-i-Azam will remember with gratitude what he often said: 'Without economic progress, freedom is worth nothing, because one cannot turn freedom to full advantage.' For us, these words were never more true than they are today.

#### QUAID-I-AZAM AND MUSLIM WOMEN

##### Begum Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad

The Quaid-i-Azam in his social life was the picture of refinement and culture and his manners were extremely elegant. His sartorial taste was exquisite and his personality was magnetic. The visitors' gallery in the Assembly used to be crowded with people eager

to listen to his remarkable speeches which were an example of fascinating eloquence. We often went to the Assembly to hear these debates. The Quaid-i-Azam's speeches reflected the British parliamentary style and mode of reasoning.

In 1942 after the session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, at which my husband Mian Bashir Ahmad was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Maharaja of Kapurthala gave a lunch in honour of the Quaid-i-Azam and Mian Abdul Aziz Falak Paima, then Prime Minister of Kapurthala, held a garden party in his honour. We were returning to Lahore along with the Quaid-i-Azam and Mohtarma Miss Fatima Jinnah in the same car. Finding the Quaid-i-Azam in a relaxed mood I put him a question in the course of conversation. I said 'Quaid-i-Azam, my niece Mumtaz, my daughter Rifa'at, and other educated young girls who are zealously organising the Muslim League Women's National Guard wish to know that if Pakistan is achieved through this political struggle, will the foundations of our new State be laid on conservation or will it assume the shape of progressive countries?' The Quaid-i-Azam smiled and said: 'Tell your young girls, I am a progressive Muslim leader. I, therefore, take my sister along with me to backward areas like Balochistan and NWFP and she also attends the sessions of the All-India Muslim League and other public meetings. *Insha Allah*, Pakistan will be a progressive country in the building of which women will be seen working shoulder to shoulder with men in every department of life.'

...Our Quaid-i-Azam used to be very pleased with the zeal and enthusiasm displayed by the Muslim women and their fervour and effort in the cause of Pakistan. We invited him to meetings attended by thousands of women and submitted to him the report of our activities. He always encouraged us and appreciated our services and dedicated efforts. He received us cordially and told us to continue the struggle for freedom with courage and determination till we reached our goal.

## QUAID-I-AZAM AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL S.M. Yusuf

In the earlier days most of the cases which came to the Governor-General pertained either to the Central or Provincial legislation. New laws or amendments of existing laws had to be rushed through to meet the new situations with which the Dominion was confronted. To start with the Ministry of Law was greatly handicapped by the lack of a trained draftsman.

The drafting of some of the bills and ordinances left a lot to be desired. That the Quaid-i-Azam agreed with the substance of the proposed legislation and approved of it in principle was not enough. He must scan every line and satisfy himself that the drafting was in order. No detail was minute enough for him and any clumsy or obscure construction would not escape his notice. It was while presenting these cases that I discovered what a penetrating mind the Quaid-i-Azam had. He would draw attention to certain aspects of the case which had never struck me or the Ministry submitting the case.

He had a wholesome aversion to signing a document the full implications of which were not known to him. The first question he would ask me whenever I put a document to him for signature was why it was necessary for him to sign it. Chapter and verse had to be quoted before he would append his signature to anything. The meticulousness on the part of the Quaid-i-Azam sometimes caused embarrassment to our Ministries which were carrying on without reference books or previous papers which had been left behind at Delhi, but at the same time it kept them on their toes and discouraged them from submitting half-baked proposals. In the presence of the Quaid-i-Azam one could not get away with vague statements or arguments based on imperfect data or knowledge.

The following incident would illustrate his passion for detail and correctness of form. Governors and Ministers have to take the oath of office at the time of their appointment; the terms of various oaths are appended to the Commission of Appointment of a Governor. At the time of Sir Ambrose Dundas' appointment as Governor of NWFP. I submitted the Cabinet Secretariat's draft of the Commission of



Appointment for the Quaid-i-Azam's signature. The oath for the Governor attached to the Commission of Appointment was the same as was administered to the Governors at the time of establishment of Pakistan.

I thought the case was simple and straight forward and I would obtain the Quaid-i-Azam's signature in no time. I was, however, counting without my master. 'Who prescribed this oath?' was the first question. I had to ring back the Cabinet Secretariat. All that they could say was that it was decided upon just before Partition in consultation with the Quaid-i-Azam. There was nothing on record to substantiate it. 'Why was Governor's oath different from the Governor-General's oath?' was the next question. 'What was good enough for Governor-General should do for the Governors.' 'Why should the Ministers take the oath of secrecy and not the Governors?' I had to go to the late Shaikh Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah to verify whether he, at the time of his appointment as Governor of Sind, took only the oath of loyalty of the Constitution or that of secrecy as well.

...A provincial government once wanted the Quaid-i-Azam's assent to the promulgation of an ordinance a few days before its Legislature was due to meet. Assent was refused, for bypassing the Legislature was not to be countenanced.

I have yet to see a more awe-inspiring personality. There was something in the steady gaze of his steel grey monocled eye which unnerved even the greatest. I have seen ambassadors trembling before him. A senior diplomat of a big country came to present his credentials to the Governor-General. He started reading his speech from a piece of paper in a steady voice but before he was half way through, his voice became husky, his hands started shaking. He pressed the speech paper hard against his side and with great effort managed to finish his speech without actually collapsing on the floor

One of our own elder statesmen who is now Pakistan's ambassador abroad confessed to me that he used to forget his English in the Quaid-i-Azam's presence. The following incident was narrated to me by him.

Soon after the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 1946 was announced he asked for an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam to acquaint him with his reactions. 'Have you studied the Plan?' asked the Quaid-i-Azam after an exchange of greetings.

'Yes, Sir.'

'What is a major communal issue?'

Our friend stuttered the dictionary meaning of the words 'communal' and 'major'. The interview was over. He was advised to go and study the Plan afresh.

A report which enjoyed wide credence was that the Quaid-i-Azam was impatient of other people's point of view and was not prone to listen to anybody's advice. Nothing could be farther from truth. In this connection a small incident comes to my mind. A foreign correspondent sought an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam. Among other things they discussed the Kashmir question. It is common knowledge that Quaid-i-Azam held very strong views on the subject and he expressed them in equally strong terms. The dispute had not yet been referred to the Security Council and our Prime Minister was to meet Mr Jawaharlal Nehru two or three days after that interview to discuss this vexed question. I hinted to the Quaid-i-Azam that his making that statement at that stage would not help the negotiations that were going to take place between the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions. The Quaid-i-Azam immediately deleted the part of the statement dealing with Kashmir. He was always open to conviction and took pains to understand others' point of view.

Himself extremely hardworking he demanded hard work of people who came into contact with him. The call of duty came first with him and the highest tribute he paid to Mr Gandhi in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was that Mr Gandhi answered the call of duty and laid his life in the discharge of what he considered to be his duty. Sickness and failing health did not deter the Quaid-i-Azam from attending to his duty. He went on working to the very last and continued to deal with important State papers until his death.



## JINNAH AS HIS CONTEMPORARIES SAW HIM

### B.R. Ambedkar

Mr Jinnah who represents the ideological transformation (on the part of the Moslems) can never be suspected of being a tool in the hands of the British, even by the worst of his enemies. He may be too self-opinionated, an egotist without the mask. It may be that on that account he is unable to reconcile himself to a second place and work with others in that capacity for a public cause.... At the same time it is doubtful if there is a politician in India to whom the adjective incorruptible can be more fittingly applied. Any one who knows what his relations with the British Government have been, will admit that he has always been their critic, if, indeed, he has not been their adversary. No one can buy him. For it if must be said to his credit that he has never been a soldier of fortune. Sheer common sense would suggest that the customary Hindu explanation must fail to account for the ideological transformation of Mr Jinnah.

...Mr Jinnah was never found in the midst of Muslim mass congregations, religious or political. Today one finds a complete change in Mr Jinnah. He has become a man of the masses. He is no longer above them. He is among them. Having come among them, they have raised him above themselves and call him their Quaid-i-Azam. He has not only become a believer in Islam. He is prepared to die for Islam...

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Mohamed Ali Jinnah is every inch a diplomat. After five minutes' conversation with him on a controversial matter, one can see that he stakes his all on logic and persuasion. He is not dogmatic. A clever lawyer he submits his case with skill, and takes every point to his advantage and then leaves you to counter him if you can.

There is one point, however, that must be emphasized with regard to the League leader and that is he carries an asset rare in the life of a politician, the asset of a selfless career, a career which in over 30 years of political life without blemish, breathes at every stage selfless service to his country, I say country deliberately, for where could a greater nationalist be

found in India than Mohammed Ali Jinnah? The best part of his life was spent as a most ardent nationalist in the true sense of the word. His services to nationalism are monumental. Mohammed Ali Jinnah can never be bought. The masses throughout India know this. The Hindus acknowledge this. He has never let a cause or a man down. The hollowness and the insincerity of his colleagues in nationalism, their utter selfishness and unscrupulous grasp for loaves of office left him bitterly disillusioned. He has been endowed with a brain, and rich qualities, one of which is born leadership

*Star of India (Calcutta), 9 April 1941*

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Jinnah's political career has been a study in contrast. But through nearly half a century of active life, two facts stand out prominently. First that he is no friend of the British bureaucracy, second, that he has been a steadfast constitutionalist.

He has a winning presence. A defiant smile hovers over his lips. Above all, he has a captivating personality. After half an hour's conversation with him one returns a devotee.

Without doubt, Jinnah is the greatest parliamentarian in India. He has been almost continuously a member of the Central Legislative Assembly from 1910 till today. His great personality, varied experience, intimate knowledge of legal forms and procedure and a gift for withering retort, have made him a formidable opponent of the official benches.

*Bhanu Jyoti (Bombay), 14 May 1944*

### Edwin Samuel Montagu

We were face to face now with the real giants of the Indian political world. We had not these dupes and adherents from the Provinces, but we had here a collection of the first class politicians of the various Provinces. Old Surendranath Bannerjee, the veteran from Bengal, read the address which was beautifully written and beautifully read. There was Modhokar from the Central Provinces, Jinnah from Bombay,

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### Edwin Samuel Montagu

We were face to face now with the real giants of the Indian political world. We had not these dupes and adherents from the Provinces, but we had here a collection of the first class politicians of the various Provinces. Old Surendranath Banerjee, the veteran from Bengal, read the address which was beautifully written and beautifully read. There was Modhokar from the Central Provinces, Jinnah from Bombay,



Mazhar-ul-Haq and Hasan Imam from Bihar and Orissa, Gandhi, Mrs Besant, Kesava Pilai and so on. All the brains of the movement were there. But the difficulty is, as I have so often said, that owing to the thinness with which we have spread education, they have run generations away from the rest of India and whatever might be done in theory, in practice this would be only another and indigenous autocracy.

They were followed by Jinnah, young, perfectly mannered, impressive looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics, and insistent upon the whole of his scheme. All its short-comings, all its drawbacks,—the elected members of the Executive Council, the power of the minority to hold up finance—all these were defended as the best make-shifts they could devise short of responsible government. Nothing else would satisfy them. They would rather have nothing if they could not get the whole lot. I was rather tired and funk'd him. Chelmsford [the Viceroy] tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country.

#### D.F. Karaka

Pakistan is a triumph which the Quaid-i-Azam achieved single handed. One had to concede him his achievement, however much one differed from his politics and his ideology. It is not a small thing that he combined in himself all the responsibilities which his rival party, the Congress distributed and decentralised to the galaxy of talent which was at their disposal. When the British made any proposal the Congress had a wealth of talent at their beck and call which gave whatever expert opinion it needed on every conceivable subject. But Jinnah was his own financial genius, his own expert on politics, on Partition issues, on economics, on industry, and on the manifold problems of State. He was Pakistan himself. He was its life-blood. He was its heart and brain.'

#### R.G. Casey

It is not too much to say that Mr Jinnah is the only outstanding Muslim of all-India stature in Indian politics today.... He is tall and very thin. He carries his years well, though he has a look of frailty.... He appears to have the legal mind; he holds his cards very close to his chest. He is not a 'warm' man.... However, there is something in his eye that hints at a sense of humour, and deeper down, at the memory of human enjoyment. But he is a man of iron discipline, and has denied himself the luxury of any qualities which might loosen his concentration upon his purpose.

Mr Jinnah's ability and personality are such that it is not much of an exaggeration to say that he is the Muslim League.... If he says the watchword is to be 'Pakistan' the watchword is Pakistan. He is a man whose judgment and authority are not questioned lightly by his colleagues.... Mr Jinnah is credited with ruling the Working Committee of the Muslim League with a rod of iron. He is said to tell them what's what, and they invariably fall into line. At any signs of intransigence on what he considers a major point he is said to threaten resignation, after which the argument dies.

A vast responsibility rests on the shoulders of Mr Jinnah. He is a man well accustomed to authority and responsibility.... He is blunt and direct and no one has any doubt what he means when he speaks. A very great deal depends on his handling of affairs over the next year or so—the biggest case he has had.

#### JINNAH—A PASSION FOR CONSTITUTIONALISM

##### H.V. Hodson

*Address to the Pakistan Society Symposium on Quaid-i-Azam, London, 6 October 1976*

My own claim to ability to speak this afternoon is very modest. I was constitutional adviser to the Viceroy in India in 1941 and 1942, and in the course of that time I naturally came to know a good deal about Mr Jinnah, and subsequently I was asked to write the history of the transfer of power, and my claim in a personal sense this afternoon rests on two small things. First a document that I had totally



forgotten which you will find No. 30 in Volume 1 in those volumes on the transfer of power in India published by the Stationery Officer, and its notes on the tour of the Reforms Commissioner in November-December 1941 in paragraphs six, seven and eight about the nature of Muslim opinions and the development of the cause of the two nation theory, the two nation proposition. The second personal thing is that before I wrote that memorandum, I did spend two hours with Mr Jinnah having a long discussion with him on his views on the constitutional future as he saw it. I have long notes of that conversation and it is worth reading a few of them to show what his mind was, at that time, the beginning of November 1941 on whether he would accept the principle. I asked him if Muslims in Hindu zones and Hindus in Muslim zones (we were talking in that language) should enjoy the same safeguards for minorities? 'Certainly,' he said, 'but you obviously do not realise that once the two nations are separated and we Muslims are given our own land, the communal tension will be immediately relaxed. Each minority, whether Hindu or Muslim, will have its essential rights of religion, language and so forth protected, but it will have to reconcile itself to being minority.' 'To me,' he said, 'a Government of Pakistan without a Hindu member and a Sikh member is inconceivable. Indeed I would be ready to guarantee them their places and let them be genuine representatives, having the confidence of their communities, but of course they would have to realise that they were minorities and could not dictate policy.' Then on the extent of Pakistan, 'Remember that we would not follow existing boundaries, but would set up these zones in such a way as to have substantial Muslim majorities in the North-West and the North-East.' He mentioned particularly, as he had done in other contexts the detachment of the Ambala Division. On how he would deal with the Princely States? He would keep right away from them. On how he could have an independent nation without the states which were embraced in it? 'I'm not asking for that status,' he said, 'Let the final authority in Foreign Affairs and Defence remain in the hands of a representative of the Crown, to be handed over in the future when this becomes feasible. The problem of transferring governing power in India is like parcelling out the estate of a previously

undivided family, a Commissioner would act as receiver and draw up the scheme of partition under which some assets might remain undistributed for some time.'

Now I think that is illuminating though there is nothing particularly novel. He made these statements of course in public which were consistent with what he had told me, but it does demonstrate that at that time there was a certain flexibility, and a certain readiness to defer full nationhood. Really perhaps my contribution to the discussion could be confined to a view of Jinnah first as a constitutionalist, and secondly as a political tactician, a tactician, or if you like strategist, because I am not trying to distinguish tactics from strategy in this context, who achieved over a long succession of engagements a victory almost complete. As a constitutionalist you might say that there is nothing in his political history up to the transfer of power and the creation of Pakistan to suggest that he had ever exercised his mind seriously upon the problem of the varieties of constitutional forms, inventions of constitutional structures, or a critique in detail of the working of the existing Constitution or anyone into which it could be translated. On the other hand he was very much a constitutionalist through and through in the sense of being attached passionately, deeper down, right the way through his being, right the way through his career to a constitutional process. He was of course a lawyer, a great lawyer. If he had followed his intended career in England I often think he might have become in due course a judge and one of the most eminent judges on the Bench and his legal training obviously was a backing for his belief in constitutional process. You see it, in one of these extracts from his speeches, in his determination that with all the singleness and concentration of power that he had in his own personal hands he was always at pains to consult the working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and to do everything through proper form after discussion and in a properly organised and constitutional way within the Muslim League. He was also a stickler for constitutional nicety and a passionate believer in constitutional rights and the supremacy of law, and it is not possible to assess his policies throughout his life without seeing him both as a leader of the Muslim League, as an Indian national

leader, as a parliamentarian, a member of what was, when he first joined it, called Imperial Legislative Council in the eventually Central Assembly, without recognising this central trait in his character.

Perhaps a great many people have underrated the immense value to him as the progenitor of Pakistan, as the Leader of the Muslims of India at the time of the transfer of power, of the decision to transfer power on the basis of the existing constitutions. This not only secured administrative continuity of laws and so on, it also satisfied his essential requirement that everything should be done in a proper order and within the rule of law. And you heard in another of those extracts his emphasis on the happy fact that the transfer of power had taken place in peace and with due order. Now as a tactician or strategist we can see the development of his practice through the succession of negotiations, and I think we can epitomise it in a half a dozen propositions. First, always demand the maximum and stick to this maximum demand to the very last encounter. Secondly, make no compromise without exacting a price for it. Third, accept no price in hypothetical or contingent future terms; it must be in political cash. Fourth, let the Congress or other contesting groups make their own public mistakes while keeping your own cards close to your chest. He had good reason to believe that the Congress would make big mistakes, mistakes which played into his hand. They did so in 1937. They did so again in 1939 and in 1942, and perhaps not quite so distinctly in 1945, but certainly in 1946 in their, to say the least, evasive ostensible acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plans. Fifth proposition: don't let the Congress get away with any political cash. If they do, see that you get some for yourself. And finally if you have to retreat from maximum demands cover your rear by continuing to assert them for the future, and indeed you may find an opportunity of pitching them still higher.

Now it is clear that these tactics which you can trace in his negotiations with the Viceroy in 1939–1940, in his dealings with the Cripps Commission in 1942, in his conduct at the Simla Conference of Lord Wavell in 1945, in negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, and finally though the theme was rather different in the discussions, one can't really call them negotiations, with Lord Mountbatten in 1947—these

tactics clearly depended upon having an unassailable power base. And you will see in this story how the strength of the tactics, the strength with which Jinnah was able to assert and stick to maximum demands increased as his power increased in and over the Muslim League and the possibility of rivalries or defections was gradually reduced and virtually eliminated. If you look back as far as 1941–42 right up to 1945 the elections which demonstrated at the end of 1945 how overwhelming was his electoral hold over the community, you will recall that there were many Muslims, a great many of them subscribing to the Muslim League and subscribing to a Pakistan ideal who were in fact very tepid and could easily have been detached to some other force if the tactics had faltered or failed at any time. So that you cannot dissociate the dealings of the Quaid-i-Azam with the British and the Congress from his position as Leader and the strength of his leadership in the Muslim League.

Of course his position had been, for far longer than that last decade, virtually unassailed in the League itself. He was after all and had been from his early days not only a great figure, a most prominent figure not only in the Muslim community, he had been a great leader of Indian nationalism ranking with the great figures of the Congress in its greatest period when it really did have a sound claim to represent Indian nationalist opinion at its highest. He had successes to his credit, he had fought all the way through within the Congress and outside it for Muslim interests. He had had personal success at the Indian Round Table Conferences, but he was still of course the leader of a party which was diffuse, scattered and without a strong electoral base. Therefore first of all his determination when Liaquat persuaded him to come back to India to put the Muslim League on a sound foot, to extend its hold, to have it properly organised with provincial and national organisations as strong as those which had been established by the Congress over forty years was matched by his skilful liquidation of rival leaders or those who were tepid in the cause that he had chosen from 1940 onwards.

Jinnah's tactics were so consistent and not always successful—they had gone astray in 1946 after the Cabinet Mission—that one wonders why no one on the British side wrote this down and said, 'This is

what Jinnah does now; how do we counter it in the sense that it needs to be countered in order to get what the British regard as a proper settlement?' It was not that they didn't understand him because he was very easy to understand. Wavell described him as straight. He was absolutely straight. He had been brought up in a Western way, his ideas were very British, particularly in his affection for the law, his understanding of the law. He was very much simpler to deal with than Gandhi for instance who was tortuous and extremely difficult to pin down to anything. It wasn't that, it was I think to a large extent because the British side was always one chap after another—a new Viceroy, a new visiting Minister to whom the whole thing was fresh. They were confronted by a man whom they could understand in a sense, they could understand what he said which was very lucid, his arguments were very clear, very logical, very persuasive, but whom they found implacably obdurate, and they didn't know the way round because they didn't study the history. Whereas on the other side you had one man who had fixed his mind on a great ideal and whose strategy and tactics were incidental to his adherence to the ideal. It was that single mind which drew not merely from political forces but from spiritual forces within, that enabled him singlehanded virtually to achieve this great resolution and the establishment of a new nation, and Mr Stephens clearly implied when he talked at the end of his address about what the Congress would have done if they had known that Mr Jinnah was dying in 1947, that without him things could never have been as they were. We all know that, we all know that he was not only the political manipulator who secured a settlement from which Pakistan emerged, he was the patriarch and progenitor of this nation.

#### MR JINNAH AS I KNEW HIM

**Princess Abida Sultaan, April 1999**

Mr Jinnah does not need any introduction from an individual like me, who prefers to remain away from politics and public life. However, there is a point which appears to be ignored or purposely distorted and confused when some people project him as a theocratic dictator.

During the pre-partition period being the young heir apparent of Bhopal state, I was often ordered by my late father, Nawab Hameedullah Khan to attend the discussions that Mr Jinnah and my father held from time to time. I was not interested and felt bored. However, I had to listen and my impression is, that Mr Jinnah was not a theocratic dictator, nor did he support *Mulla'ism* nor did he intend Pakistan to be anything other than a secular democracy. This point came up very often during the discussions that were held between my father and Mr Jinnah and at which I had to sit as an observer. The reason mainly used to be, the frequent *fatwas* of *kufir* issued by the *mullahs* against Mr Jinnah. Mr Jinnah's views and my father's views were identical. Both believed and supported secular democracy and although Bhopal was historically recognized as an austere Muslim state and all the rulers of Bhopal were practising Muslims who were very sincere about their religious duties and functions, yet there is not a single case which can be quoted to prove, that Bhopal state imposed Islam either on its Muslim subjects or was prejudiced against its non-Muslim people. Therefore, those of us who migrated to Pakistan, came to Pakistan under the impression that it would be a secular democratic country, but unfortunately during the last fifty years of Pakistan's sovereignty, the entire concept of Mr Jinnah's theories and policies has been shamelessly distorted, confused and mutilated.

#### RECOLLECTIONS OF THE QUAID-I-AZAM

**Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, April 1999**

It is a privilege to have been asked to write a few lines regarding a subject on which much has already been written and much more remains to be recorded, by way of personal memories and recollections.

I could have tried to add my modest share of vignettes to this priceless collection in spite of my brief and far from intimate contact with the Quaid, but I have decided to concentrate instead, on depicting briefly a vivid and living image which abides with me as an enduring inspiration. It emerges from my recollection of his frequent formal visits to the Viceroy's House for meetings with Lord Wavell and Lord Mountbatten at Delhi. After partition, I also served briefly as



Commandant of the Governor General's Bodyguard at Karachi till June 1948.

As I try to piece together remembrances of the past I find myself looking at the gestalt of a live personality overshadowing snatches of anecdotes and incidents—a heap of fragments—which is all that personal memory offers. I would like to share with you the vividness of that single all-embracing recollection and its insistent and manifold message.

I recall a talk with Stanley Wolpert about the time his book *Jinnah of Pakistan* had been withheld from distribution in our country for a short period. Wolpert expressed his sorrow and dismay and explained his refusal to make any alterations or deletions in the book he had so painstakingly written. He went on to add an observation that left a deep impression on me. During the course of his researches for writing *Jinnah of Pakistan*, he had lived so closely with the subject of his biography that some of the matchless traits of the Quaid's personality 'had rubbed off on him'. He could 'never betray that integrity which had enhanced his own strength of character as a person'.

Those words echo in my mind when I envision the image of the Quaid as it stands out in my recollection—an image of wholeness—a personality that was of a piece and entire. His integrity shone not only through his heroic crusade for Pakistan against formidable odds, overcoming inner doubts and misgivings, but also in many other ways: the harmony between the inner and the outer man which manifested itself in the effortless thrust of strength and power that distinguishes the great statesman. His demeanour, the way he spoke and moved, his gravitas, the grace and dignity that were his ordinary companions, produced a union of effect that lent an air of effortless distinction. This is the memory of him that stands out in my recollection above all other events and reminiscences, a luminous image suffused by integrity. Indeed, he gave to that abstract virtue a concrete splendour.

## A TURNING POINT

### Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah

The event that was to change the course of my life was yet to occur. In October 1941, my father came from England on leave and came to stay with me in my house in New Delhi. One morning he said to me, 'I am going to see Mr Jinnah. You come along with me.' 'Oh, I don't think I will,' said I. 'I believe he is very rude and snubs everybody.' 'Don't be silly,' said my father. 'That is just Hindu propaganda. I want you to meet him.' So I went rather reluctantly and apprehensively. Our house was less than ten minutes' walk from Mr Jinnah's and in the car it took even less so we arrived a little earlier than ten, which was the time for my father's appointment. We sat down in a small room leading from the hall prepared to wait, but the doorman who had taken in our cards came back and asked us to follow him. To our surprise we found ourselves being led into the dining-room where Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Jinnah, his sister, were still sitting as they had not yet finished breakfast. Thinking that the servant had made a mistake (probably he had), we tried to back out, but before we could do so Quaid-i-Azam got up with a welcoming smile and came towards my father with outstretched hands.

I remember that scene so clearly, the beautifully proportioned room, the early morning sun pouring through the windows, Miss Jinnah sitting looking most elegant at the head of the table that was laid with exquisite china and gleaming silver. Quaid-i-Azam pushing back his chair and getting up on seeing us, his snow-white napkin sliding from his knees as he did so, his quick gesture in stooping to pick it up and put it on the table, and then coming, hands outstretched, with a most radiant smile on his face. He smiled very rarely, but when he did his smile was the kind that lights up the whole face. That is how I first saw him and that is how I see him over and over again in my mind's eye, each little detail as clear as if it had happened only yesterday.

My father had certain proposals which he wanted to discuss. He felt that, as Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, he might be able to bring about some sort of understanding between the British Government and the Muslim League. Quaid listened





*The Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Jinnah at breakfast*

to what Father had to say very attentively and began to explain his point of view. And then, before I knew what I was doing, I was asking Quaid questions and he was answering them!—not impatiently or brusquely but kindly and in great detail. Quaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, the leader of the majority of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent, reported to be arrogant and dictatorial, was allowing a completely inexperienced, unimportant young person to argue with him and was taking the trouble of meeting her arguments! The wonder of it did not strike me for the moment as I was carried away by the fascination of listening to Quaid.

Now, after nearly twenty years, during which I have met some very great statesmen, I still maintain that to listen to Quaid and not be convinced was not possible. It was not that he overruled you, it was not that he did not reply to your argument, but that he was so thoroughly, so single-mindedly, so intensely convinced of the truth of his point of view that you could not help but be convinced also. You felt that if a man with an intellect so much superior to yours believed this, then it must be right. Call it hypnotism or what you will, that is the effect he had on me; and I am not the only person on whom he had this effect he had it on all who came in contact with him. Anyone whom he thought it worth his while to try and convince, he always succeeded in convincing. Even last-ditch opponents like Fazlul Haq and Khizar Hayat have admitted that while face-to-face with Quaid-i-Azam they never dared to disagree, and they were the premiers of two of the biggest provinces of India and Mohammad Ali Jinnah was only the president of the Muslim League and the Muslim League, according to these gentlemen, was only a band of ragged ruffians! That he should have thought it worth his while to try to convince me of the rightness of his cause I shall never cease to wonder at. But, because he did so, I am today in Pakistan.

It was ten o'clock when we had come. By one-fifteen Miss Jinnah appeared to remind Quaid that it was time for lunch and that after lunch he had other people coming. My father and I realized with a shock that we had stayed over three hours! It would be trite to say that the hours had flown like minutes.

We apologized profusely and began to take our leave. Both Quaid and Miss Jinnah were very kind and said that we must come again and this time to lunch. The day was fixed and Miss Jinnah very kindly asked me to bring my husband also.

The conversation at the luncheon next week was not as easy as on the morning of my first meeting with Quaid. I suppose the presence of my husband, a Government servant, must have had something to do with it. As a representative of the Government which would have loved to liquidate the Muslim League no less than Congress, it could not be expected that he would have much sympathy with, or understanding of, the Muslim League point of view. He, like all civil servants, had a sort of semi-cynical, semi-humorous attitude towards politics and politicians, and I remember his telling Quaid-i-Azam, 'I am sorry, Sir, but this idea of Pakistan does not appeal to me much. After all, I come from a Muslim minority province; we are only 3 per cent in the Central Provinces. What do we get out of backing Pakistan? Of course, if you were to plan to reconquer India, I would resign and join up with you immediately.'

Quaid-i-Azam, as is well known, had not much use for flippancy, especially where such serious matters were concerned. I remember his pausing for a minute, looking at my husband closely and saying, 'This is not a matter for joking, young man.' But my husband was not much abashed, and continued to enjoy his lunch. We left at about three o'clock and, though I did not know it, I had already taken the first step towards entering the tumultuous life of politics.

## A TRIBUTE TO THE QUAID-I-AZAM

**S. Hashim Raza, April 1999**

Of all the great men that I have known in my life Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, H.H. Aga Khan III, Allama Mohammad Iqbal, Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal, Raja Amir Ahmed Khan, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Sir Robert Menzies, Sir Walter Nash, the greatest was Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. It was my good fortune to

have met him several times in the pre-Independence and post-Independence periods.

It was in August 1931 that I called on this uncrowned king of the All Indian Muslim League in Lucknow. He had come from England to appear in a Taluqdari case pending in the Oudh Chief Court. The bench which heard this case comprised Sir Wazir Hasan, Chief Judge and my father, Justice Syed Mohammad Raza. His opponent was Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru whose voice resounded in the court. I was a student then but was lucky to get admission to hear the case. The Quaid was the cynosure of all eyes. He was a man of striking appearance, immaculately dressed with a monocle in one of his eyes. His voice was mellow and smooth. He spoke like an Englishman. His arguments were so persuasive that he won his case. He was staying with the Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad, and I called on him in the evening on behalf of the Lucknow University Union. The office bearers of the Union earnestly requested him to address the students of the Lucknow University on his impressions of the First Round Table Conference which he had attended in London. He was gracious enough to accede to our request. He addressed us on 11 August 1931. The main hall was full to capacity. His performance was memorable. He reiterated his efforts to unite the Hindus and the Muslims of India which earned him the praise of the President of the Indian National Congress, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who said that 'Jinnah was the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity'. He concluded his speech by raising his forefinger and revolving it with the words, 'We went round and round in London. We are still going round and round without reaching the straight path that would lead us to freedom'.

I met him next in Oxford in 1933 when he was gracious enough to address the Oxford Majlis, a debating society comprising of Indian and English students, and the Oxford Muslim Society comprising of students from various Muslim countries. He was gracious enough to invite the office bearers of these two societies to Randolph Hotel where he was staying with Miss Jinnah. We, the Muslim students studying in Oxford, were extremely perturbed, at the prospect of the Quaid-i-Azam settling down in England. We asked him whether he had decided to

settle down permanently in London. He replied that for the present he had decided to stay in England as his presence was needed to explain the case of Indian Muslims to the members of the British Parliament which would decide the fate of India, to prominent public personalities and to the newspapers who influence public opinion. We took the liberty of asking him how long he contemplated living in England. He replied, 'time alone will determine it'. He was back in India in 1934 and by October 1935 he was moving to and fro reorganizing the Muslim League. I met the Quaid for the third time in Simla in the summer of 1938. My name had been sent by the government of Bombay to the government of India for consideration as a member of the Indian Political Service. I stayed at the same hotel where the Quaid used to stay during the session of the Legislative Assembly. I spotted him out at breakfast in a corner. I walked up to him to pay my respects and reminded him of my meeting with him in Oxford. He asked what had brought me to Simla. I told him that I would be interviewed for appointment to the Indian Political Service. He asked me where I was posted and I told him that I was then Assistant Collector, Nasik. The Quaid told me that it was better if I was posted to an Indian State, otherwise I would be better advised to continue in my present assignment.

I was transferred to Sindh in January 1939 and was posted as Assistant Collector, Karachi. Later on as Collector and District Magistrate, Karachi, Chief Secretary of Sindh and Administrator of the federal capital of Pakistan. Karachi remained the federal capital for ten years till Field Marshal Ayub Khan transferred the capital to Rawalpindi and later on to Islamabad.

In December 1913, the Quaid expressed his sentiments about the city of Karachi in the following words: 'You do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand on this platform in the city of Karachi where I was born and where I had personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood. I am delighted to see so many of my Sindhi friends who are here.'

It was my good fortune to meet the Quaid whenever he stayed in Karachi with Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Sir Abdoola Haroon and Mr Justice



Hatim Tayabji, Chief Judge of the Sindh Chief Court. His after dinner conversations were captivating. One could appreciate why Mrs Sarojini Naidu wrote sonnets about him and why Ruttie, the seventeen year old daughter of a Parsi millionaire, Sir Dinshaw Petit, fell head over heels in love with him and married him against the wishes of her parents!

On the morning of 29 November 1946 I called on him in my capacity as the Secretary of Sir Francis Mudie, the governor of Sindh. He was staying with Mr Bunde Ali Talpur at that time who was Prime Minister of the Sindh Government. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr Attlee had called a meeting of the more prominent Indian leaders to discuss the future of India. On the eve of the meeting Reuters reported that on a query whether Pakistan would be discussed in the Conference he had replied that Pakistan had not been included in the agenda. When the Quaid read this statement he declared that he would not attend the Conference. The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, who had informed the Prime Minister that Mr Jinnah would attend the Conference, got extremely upset and sent a telegram to Sir Francis Mudie asking him to persuade Mr Jinnah to attend the Conference and raise the question of Pakistan. I took the Viceroy's message to the Quaid. The Quaid read the message and stated 'I do not see any reason to reconsider my decision'. I extended my role as a messenger and submitted 'Sir, if you do not attend the Prime Minister's Conference it will be like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark'. However, Mr Jinnah was adamant and said that he would not attend the Conference until Mr Attlee was willing to discuss Pakistan. When I submitted that the Viceroy had extended his assurance to widen the scope of the Conference, he retorted, 'The Viceroy has no business to give his own assurance, when Reuters had quoted the statement of the Prime Minister. It is Mr Attlee alone who can clarify the issue'. I conveyed the gist of our conversation to Sir Francis Mudie who rang up Lord Wavell. After some hours came the Prime Minister's personal message to the Quaid in which he stated that the Reuters version was not correct and that Mr Jinnah could discuss his scheme for Pakistan at the Conference. When I took the message to the

Quaid he agreed to attend the Prime Minister's Conference.

I now quote from Wavell's *The Viceroy's Journal* edited by Penderel Moon and first published in 1973: 'November 30, 1945. Left Delhi at 9 am. Omens rather more favourable. Liaquat came obviously dressed for Europe, Jinnah has had a telegram from Attlee which should satisfy him, though it will have the opposite effect on Nehru...Got to Karachi at 12.30 pm.'

Lord Wavell was a distinguished straightforward soldier who was no match for the English policymakers for India. Prime Minister Attlee removed him summarily from India and appointed Lord Mountbatten to succeed him.

Lord Wavell had tried his utmost to resolve the Indian problem. He was the first Viceroy to recognize the strength of the Muslim League. It was he who had decided on the formula of parity between the Congress and the Muslim League representatives in his interior Government. He once wrote that he put the composition of Mr Gandhi's character as, '70 per cent astute politician, 15 per cent saint and 15 per cent charlatan'. I now quote from his diary of 6 December 1944: 'I had an hours' talk with Jinnah. He showed his attractive side and was friendly and sensible. Willing to come to any provisional Government under the present Constitution, although he said that he could convince me that Pakistan was necessary and desirable. He is certainly intelligent.'

The month of August 1947 brings to my mind the happiest memories of my life; the morning of 7 August when the Quaid-i-Azam arrived in Karachi, along with his distinguished sister, Miss Fatuma Jinnah, from the Palam Airport, Delhi. The unbounded joy of thousands of people who gathered at the Maunpur Airport to greet the emancipator of the Muslims of the subcontinent, his address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11 August when he was elected President of the Constituent Assembly; his speech at the ceremony of the transfer of power on 14 August in the Constituent Assembly in reply to the speech of Lord Mountbatten; his assumption of office as Governor-General of Pakistan on the august day



of Jumatul-Wida on 15 August. All these memorable events are stored in my memory as a treasure.

The Quaid-i-Azam had a very clear grasp of administrative problems. Although he was a hard taskmaster yet he appreciated the difficulties which were faced by the officials. Talking to him was like talking to a giant, as Beverley Nichols wrote when he interviewed him for his book *Verdict on India*.

The saddest moment in my life was 11 September 1948, when the Quaid breathed his last at 10:25 p.m. in his bed at the Governor-General's House. The funeral procession the next day from the Governor-General's House to the Quaid's grave a distance of several miles was the most solemn, the most awe-inspiring spectacle I have ever witnessed. There was a sea of humanity on the streets, atop the balconies and roofs of houses. The *Namaz-e-Janaza* was led by Allama Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, a member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. He said that Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the greatest Muslim born in India after the demise of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir. Behind Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani stood, row upon row of Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Jews. The most poignant scene at his grave was the arrival of the Quaid's only daughter Dina (Mrs Wadia) who had rushed by plane from Bombay. She broke down, sobbing like a child and was comforted by Miss Jinnah and Lady Hidayatullah.

His resting place reflects the towering personality of the Quaid. It is situated in the heart of the city which was dear to him, where he spent the early years of his youth and the last glorious thirteen months of his life.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad! Pakistan Paindabad!

#### FOND RECOLLECTIONS ABOUT THE FATHER OF THE NATION

Justice (ret'd.) Z.A. Chana, April 1999

It was in October 1938, while I was a student at the D.J. Sindh College, Karachi, that I had the honour and the privilege of first meeting with the Quaid-i-Azam. At that time I held the office of the President

of the Sindh Muslim Students Federation and the late Tufail Ali Abdul Rehman, who later became the Chief Justice of the Sindh High Court, was the General Secretary of the Federation. The Federation was holding its inaugural session at the Old Idgah Maidan, where the Muslim League was also scheduled to hold a function which was to be presided over by the Quaid-i-Azam. The late Tufail Ali Abdul Rehman and I took advantage of the situation and requested the Quaid-i-Azam, who was staying at the Haroon's residence, Seafield, in Karachi to grace our Federation by his presence and to preside over our function. Due to the great interest which the Quaid-i-Azam always evinced in the student community, he readily accepted our request and to our great joy, both he and the Raja of Mahmoodabad, the President of the All India Muslim Students Federation, whom we had earlier requested to grace our function attended the inauguration.

On that occasion, in my address as the President of the Sindh Muslim Students Federation, I referred to the historical fact of the Chana tribe of Sehwan being the first to have surrendered to Mohammad bin Qasim and to have embraced Islam, in consequence of which the Chanas were granted a *Sanad* exempting them from payment of any tax. This fact is mentioned in the historical treatise *Chachnama*. The Quaid-i-Azam did not comment in his speech on this fact, but turning to me, with a sad smile, said that the appellation of mere 'Mr' (used by me when referring to Mohamunad bin Qasim) was quite inappropriate for historical figures like Mohammad bin Qasim. The observation of the Quaid-i-Azam has stuck in my memory and I have ever since been most careful in the choice of words, which has even been of great help to me in the work of drafting many laws for Pakistan.

After graduating from the Bombay University I, along with late Tufail Ali Abdul Rehman and some others, awakened by the rising zeal for Islamic culture and principles, left to study at the Aligarh University. The Quaid-i-Azam often came to the Aligarh University and delivered lectures to the students about their coming role. I missed no opportunity to hear his speeches. The Quaid-i-Azam seemed to have some potent magic in his voice and we heard his speeches



spellbound, as his resonant voice echoed through the lecture hall of the University. I have not been impressed so much by any other speaker.

As a young lawyer, I also heard the Quaid-i-Azam arguing a murder case before a bench of the Judicial Commission (now the Sindh High Court). The precise manner in which he marshalled his facts, arguments and contentions reflected the clarity of his mind and the strength of his character. At the end of the day, the bench was inclined to continue the hearing, but the Quaid-i-Azam demurred, and with due respect to the Court firmly stated that he had another engagement previously fixed, hence he was unable to continue his arguments on that day.

Soon after partition I was posted at Karachi, and one of my duties was to deal with any potential untoward incidents in the city. One day a procession of the Secretariat staff gathered outside the Governor-General's house demanding to see the Quaid-i-Azam with regard to difficulties being faced by them which included housing and other problems. I contacted the Private Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam and informed him about the request of the Secretariat staff. After a short time, the Private Secretary informed me that the Quaid-i-Azam did not approve of the action of the Secretariat staff in leaving their duties in order

to see him, and moreover, he had many more urgent matters to attend to and the Secretariat staff should learn to bear their problems and help in attending to the hordes of refugees flocking from India to Karachi. The reply of the Quaid-i-Azam indicated his priorities.

I was also present in my official position when on 11 September 1948, the coffin of the Quaid-i-Azam was being taken on a gun-carriage, pulled by Navy Jawans, from the Governor-General's house, to his last resting place. I walked with the gun-carriage the whole way, along with late Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdul Rab Nishtar, and other important leaders. All of them, including myself and the myriads of people who lined the streets and who had climbed atop houses and buildings and even treetops, were unashamedly weeping with tears flowing down their cheeks. I have never seen a greater crowd, nor as many deeply saddened faces as there were on that day. That scene has been deeply riveted in my mind and I realized that the people considered that not only had they lost the father of the nation, who had struggled for the creation of Pakistan, but their beloved protector and guardian was no more in this world. Even now when I recollect the scene, tears of sorrow uncontrollably flow from my eyes at this loss—a tribute to the greatness of the Quaid-i-Azam and admiration for him from a humble follower.

### **Ata Rabbani, 13 April 1948**

It was a perfect spring day with clear blue skies. A gentle and refreshing cool breeze was blowing from the north. Visibility extended to the top of the hills and beyond. The place was decked with flowers, roses were in abundance and Risalpur seemed to be sitting in a bowl decked with roses. The hills that encircle Risalpur were sporting their last residue of winter snows. It was a beautiful sight. People from the surrounding areas started to converge on Risalpur airfield from the early hours and were directed to one end of the apron reserved for the general public. The cadets were busy polishing their belts and boots themselves to ensure proper shine, an unusual activity for them. They considered it a great honour that they would be receiving their Quaid-i-Azam who had chosen their station for his first visit to a military

institution after taking over as Governor-General of Pakistan. It was a real red-letter day in the history of Risalpur.

The Governor-General was scheduled to take the salute at 9 a.m. The parade markers were in position on the parade ground at 8:40 a.m. and the parade was marched on to the parade ground at 8:45 a.m. The Governor-General's silver Dakota flying the Governor-General's flag taxied to the saluting base and parked behind the dais. After reviewing the smartly turned out parade, the Governor-General spoke, '...There is no doubt that any country without a strong air force is at the mercy of any aggressor. Pakistan must build up her air force as quickly as possible...The Royal Pakistan Air Force started with very few assets except loyalty and determination to succeed, but it is already taking shape; this school formed only seven months ago is a worthy example of this. I know you are short of personnel... I know also that you are short of aircraft and equipment...I am pleased to learn of the progress which this school has made and as desired by the Air Commander and yourselves, I name it from today 'the Pakistan Air Force College'...'

Parade over, the Governor-General was driven to the PAF Officers Mess, where he was to have his breakfast with all the senior officers of the PAF. The Governor and the Chief Minister of NWFP were also present. Immediately after the parade I was rushed to the Mess to receive and greet the Governor-General at the entrance door of the Mess. He was pleased to see me and acknowledged my greetings with, 'So you are here Rabbani, how are you?' Without waiting for my response he added, 'I am sure you must be happy to be back to your flying.' I remember having managed to say, 'Yes sir, I was very happy in the Governor-General's House and I am happy here as well.' While entering the reception hall, he looked at me and with a glint in his eyes enquired, 'Mr First, are there any more firsts here?' I replied, 'Yes Sir, Risalpur is very proud today, as you are the first Head of the State to ever visit this place.' He smiled and continued to walk. In accordance with the rules of protocol I introduced the Commandant to him and then withdrew. After about half an hour's chit-chat with the guests the Commandant led the Governor-

General to the breakfast table. I had prepared a table plan for the head-table only. My seat was diagonally opposite the Governor-General and directly opposite Miss Jinnah. After serving grapefruit, cereal was passed around which the Governor-General refused as usual. The next dish *siri-paya* was meant to be a surprise for the Governor-General. I was watching his reactions. He was pleased and satisfied, for before taking a helping, he looked at me and nodded his head twice. I knew the Quaid occasionally liked to have *siri-paya* at breakfast and I had arranged that it be served to him today. Miss Jinnah also reacted promptly by remarking, 'Rabbani, so you have been disclosing home secrets!' and smiled

Breakfast over, he stayed for another eight to ten minutes and then left. I was the last to say goodbye to him. He stood in front of me and for the first and last time put his hand on my shoulder in farewell, and said, 'Well, young man, it is now your turn to come to Karachi. Good luck.' 'Certainly, Sir', I said in a voice choking with emotion. I was overwhelmed and honoured by this rare gesture of kindness. For me it was like the symbolic tap on the shoulder with the ceremonial sword, made by a British sovereign while conferring a knighthood on a subject. The joy the Quaid-i-Azam's touch gave was unbounded. Little did I know then that it would be my last meeting with my 'Leader'. His words and the feel of his hand on my shoulder are still with me. I feel guilty that I could not visit him in Karachi as I had said I would. I went to Karachi all right, not to Governor-General House, but to his mausoleum to pay my last respects.

## MEMORIES OF THE QAUID-I-AZAM

Yusuf A. Haroon, April 1999

My father, the late Sir Abdoola Haroon, was a very dear and trusted friend of the Quaid. He was amongst those first few who believed that Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the only leader whom the Muslims of the subcontinent could rely on to achieve the equality and emancipation that they had been denied ever since the battle at Seringapatam. It was at Seringapatam that the British Empire showed its hand by allying with the Marathas and the Nizam to topple Tipu Sultan,



the last obstacle in their path. Tipu's fall yielded to them the ultimate jewel in their crown.

My father relentlessly pursued and urged the return of a politically dejected Quaid from England to British India. He then supported him wholeheartedly and questioned and rebuked those who would not speak courageously in the Quaid's defence when the Senior Counsel of the Bombay High Court, and earlier colleague of the Quaid, Congressite Tej Bahadur Sapru let loose a barrage of personal and politically critical attacks upon the Quaid.

The early demise of my father in 1941 was deeply felt by his friend and leader, but the course was set towards Pakistan as Sir Abdoolah had urged in the 1938 Provincial Muslim League Conference at Karachi with the adoption of a resolution on a separate homeland for the Mussalmans of India. The Quaid, chairing the meeting, formed an Economics Committee to present its report on the feasibility for a separate homeland. This committee was chaired by Sir Abdoolah. In 1939, at the Madras Conference, the report of the Economics Committee was presented and adopted, and in 1940 at Mochi Gate, Lahore, the Resolution was moved, amongst others by my father, and adopted.

In remembrance of my father, Mr Jinnah kept a very paternal eye upon me. When I was returned to the Indian Legislative Assembly on my father's vacant seat, Mr Jinnah became my political mentor and my leader and kept me very close to him at all times. Whether he spent time at our family home, Seafield, or at Delhi, he continuously reminded me, as he did all the Muslim Legislators, of their duty to our nation and insisted upon all being well-versed with the provisions of every pertinent law, particularly the India Act of 1935 and thereafter the Indian Independence Act 1947 which were fundamental to parliamentary and political life in those days. This reflected the person and politician in Mr Jinnah: straightforward, honest and disciplined. It was not enough for our leader in the house to know the rules and procedures of the Legislative Assembly, each member was to be raised to be a stalwart so that the ranks would come together facing an overwhelming Congress majority like a well-honed scimitar wielded at the command of the leader.



For hours he would speak in the not-so-understood Queen's English to hundreds of thousands of his much beloved people and would be heard by them in utter silence. The Quaid was not swayed by emotion, his was a clinical function: outline the vision, educate the fellow travellers, assess and move towards achievement, do not be detracted by smaller issues and your opponent's invective but remain steadfast and in a clear-headed manner move towards the goal. This did not make him the now commonly believed dictator. Yes, he was unremitting in achieving his popularly shared vision yet he believed in freedom of expression and always encouraged party members to express themselves freely before him. Needless to say idle banter was not entertained and received short shrift.



At Lucknow, just before partition, he emphasized that it was the Mussalman who was the object of discrimination. It was he who needed to be given relief and the equal opportunity denied to him due to his practice, philosophy and beliefs. The people were being denied and discriminated against, it was the people who mattered. Mr Jinnah was precise in discerning and isolating the root of the problem and the relief that he proposed was not merely a diagnosis but a remedy. A remedy that should not after its implementation allow any future identity to be discriminated against or denied equal opportunity in similar fashion. This is why he decidedly announced before the people of Pakistan on how the minorities were to be treated.

The Quaid always looked forward towards Pakistan emerging as a modern state, governed on the principles of modern polity. His most trusted and dearest colleagues largely predeceased him. He, often alone, steadied the ship and held course in perilous waters. When the time came for him to traverse from captain at the wheel to the shining beacon that would guide his legacy, the people, who were at the beginning and the culmination of his thinking, philosophy and ideals remained but a few days his inheritors, and then the 'state' took over. His faith was made to conform to the exigencies of state. Whither? We know not yet.

#### **MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH: A MAN OF PRINCIPLES**

**Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, April 1999**

As the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and as the Secretary-General of the Organization of Islamic Conference I had the privilege of meeting various international personalities. Each one of these eminent people had a distinction of his own. I was deeply struck by the charm of Chou En-Lai, the dignity of Charles de Gaulle, the energy of Dwight Eisenhower, the frankness of Faisal, the glasnost of Mikhail Gorbachev, the insight of Inonu, the magnetism of Nelson Mandela, the lucidity of Lee Kuan Yew, the reasoning of Radhakrishnan and the wit of Wilson. But the only person who has left an everlasting impression on me was Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Among all the assignments that I have held the most important one was my work with the Quaid-i-Azam from 1941-44. His private secretaries included Lobo, Usman Ansari, Matloob Syed, A.Y. Syed and K.H. Khursheed. Quaid-i-Azam's honorary secretaries included M.C. Chagla, Rashid Baig and my humble self, who worked part time, undertook research and collected material for him.

Quaid-i-Azam was a leading lawyer and had a lucrative practice of about fifty thousand rupees per month. In 1941, he devoted and dedicated himself to the Pakistan Movement and decided to discontinue his legal practice. He had to travel frequently all over the subcontinent for public meetings and for the Muslim League Council and its sessions. He used to travel in a first class coupe. A separate coupe used to be reserved for Miss Jinnah whenever she accompanied him. Jinnah personally bore all these expenses and did not draw a penny from the Muslim League Fund. From 1941 onwards the Quaid depended mainly on his dividends. At the time of his death he possessed shares in well-known companies valued at one crore rupees.

Mr Jinnah gave up his social life for the cause of Pakistan. Some of his colleagues at the Bar, Coltman, Kanga, Setalvald and Bhulabhai Desai used to drop in. He hardly visited any one but twice or thrice a year he called on his sister Mrs Mariam Peerbhoy. Once he asked me to accompany him. Quaid and his sister sat in the drawing room while his nephew, Akbar Peerbhoy and I waited elsewhere in the house. Sometimes Sir and Lady Rao came to lunch. Once when the three of them were together the Quaid sent for me and asked me to bring the book inscribed by Sarojini Naidu, in her own beautiful handwriting. When Sir and Lady Rao were leaving, I quietly asked Lady Rao the circumstances under which that volume was sent for. She laughed heartily and said that she had asked Mr Jinnah whether Sarojini was in love with him and whether he returned her affections. Mr Jinnah had emphatically replied that he loved Sarojini's poems but his first and last love was Rutie.

We had established an institution for literacy classes. The Quaid agreed to address the students and asked

me to accompany him. On the way he asked me the Urdu translation of the word 'Proud'. I translated it as *Maghroor*. When the Quaid delivered his speech in Urdu the audience was startled by his use of the word *maghroor*. Sensing the reaction of the audience the Quaid immediately added in English, 'I am proud to be a Muslim'. When we were returning he told me that I should have given him several options. My reply was that I did not know the context in which the word was to be used. The Quaid said that he could not discuss his speech with anybody. He added that his training as an actor in the Shakespearean Theatre in London during his student days had helped him a lot. His words were: 'A speech must have a commencement, a climax and a conclusion and must be delivered properly like the dialogue of an accomplished actor'.

In July 1943, Rafiq Sabir attempted to assassinate the Quaid. The doctors treated him and confined him to the bedroom. Quaid dictated a short statement to Mr A.Y. Syed that the assassin was a Muslim. Mr Jinnah instructed me to contact the news agencies and advise them to release it forthwith in order to avoid any unpleasantness. His daughter Dina dashed into the bedroom. The two were together for some time. That was the first time we had seen Dina

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks took place in September 1944. After the first meeting, Gandhiji remarked, 'You have mesmerized the Muslims'. Quaid replied, 'You have hypnotized the Hindus'. On 21 Ramzan, Quaid declined to hold any talks. On that day Abdul Aziz, the Foreign Minister of Hyderabad sent him *iftar*. Next day Mr Jinnah went to see him at the Nizam's palace. I was with him. Mr Aziz was indisposed due



Jonathan meeting with Muslim Students' Federation in Bombay in February 1943. On Jinnah's right is Hussain Bhai Mohammad Ali and S. Sharifuddin Pirzada while Miss Jinnah is on his left

to paralysis. The Quaid disclosed to Mr Aziz that Mr Gandhi told him that his (Mr Jinnah's) ancestors were originally Hindus and were therefore mere converts. The Quaid inquired that if that did not make any difference, why had Gandhi raised a commotion when his son embraced Islam and adopted the name Abdullah. This left Gandhi dumbfounded.

Beverley Nichols sought an interview with the Quaid for a British newspaper. I was asked to bring John Bright's speeches. Quaid quoted extracts from some of the speeches. When the transcript of the detailed interview was finalized by the Quaid, Beverley Nichols wrote to him that the interview was so illuminating that instead of printing it in a newspaper he had decided to include it in his forthcoming book. The Quaid replied that if he had known that, perhaps he would not have given him that interview. However, when Beverley Nichols sent him an autographed copy of the *Verdict on India*, the Quaid publicly said that Beverley Nichols had given an impartial verdict. After reading the book *Verdict on India*, Churchill wrote to his wife, Clementine, on 1 February 1945: 'I think you would do well to read it. It is written with some distinction and a great deal of thought. It certainly shows the Hindu and his true character and the sorry plight to which we have reduced ourselves by losing confidence in our mission...I agree with the book and also with its conclusion.'

In 1967, I accompanied President Ayub on an official visit to the UK. The Queen gave a banquet at the Buckingham Palace. Lord Mountbatten was sitting near me and chatted with me. He disclosed to me that a close colleague (perhaps Vallabhbhai Patel) had passed his wife's personal letters to Mr Jinnah and asked me where the letters were. I said Miss Jinnah had told me that the letters were returned by the Quaid as he was not interested in personal matters. But the Quaid had remarked that Caesar's wife should be above suspicion.

Quaid was undoubtedly a man of principles and integrity as acknowledged by Dr Ambedker and endorsed by Mahatma Gandhi. Mr Jinnah was clear and candid, pragmatic and practical, reserved but realistic, and a man of his word. Quaid-i-Azam's life was an open book.

Mr Nirad C. Chaudhry has aptly observed: 'I must set down at this point that Jinnah is the only man who came out with success and honour from the ignoble end of the British Empire in India. He never made a secret of what he wanted, never prevaricated, never compromised, and yet succeeded in inflicting an unmitigated defeat on both the British Government and the Indian National Congress.'







## *Section 7*

# *Tributes*

## **President Harry S. Truman of USA**

I was deeply grieved to learn this morning of the unexpected death of the Governor-General of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, originator of the dream that became Pakistan, architect of the State and father of the world's largest Muslim nation. Mr Jinnah was the recipient of a devotion and loyalty seldom accorded to any man. It is particularly tragic that within so short a period of time the two great new nations of the Indo-Pak sub-continent should be deprived of the leadership and guidance of their founding geniuses. Both of these great men rose from humble origins to positions of vast and constructive influence through their abilities and their sense of dedication and the world is the poorer for their passing. I am, confident, however, that the memory of Mr Jinnah's remarkable leadership will serve to maintain and inspire the Government and the people of Pakistan in the years to come.

## **George Marshall (Secretary of State, USA)**

The Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a leader unique among men through the medium of his own faith and unswerving dedication to the cause to which he gave his life. He not only conceived and brought into being one of the greatest nations of the world but stood at its helm during its initial difficult phase and brought it into co-operation with the rest of the world through the instrumentality of the United Nations. Respected by all who knew him, whether political friend or foe, for his deep personal integrity and honesty, Mr Jinnah was also admired for his keen intellect and personal charm. His education in undivided India and abroad, his wide experience in the legal profession and in Government and politics, his progressive and constructive contributions in all the fields won him a highly esteemed place among the elder statesmen, not only of Asia but of the world. The loss of Mr Jinnah's guiding genius will be deeply felt not only in his own country but throughout the family of nations. He has left to his followers and to the future statesmen of Pakistan an example of energetic devotion to duty and ideals which, I am confident, will inspire the people of Pakistan to continue to play a constructive role in world affairs.

## **Lord Pethick-Lawrence**

It was Mr Jinnah who with his great skill and determination led his people to obtain the position and win the independence of their country, and also, as you will remember, presided over the first few years of their existence....It was one of the first great achievements of the Quaid-i-Azam that he created the conception of Pakistan and, having created the conception, he worked passionately and determinedly until he earned it to a successful result. Now he had, of course, immense powers of intellect and also of persuasive eloquence which he used with such effect that the idea, which was at first an ideal only, became in the end a reality. Not only he had those gifts but I realised in him a man of very firm resolution, a man who when he made a promise always kept it and if he felt anybody else with whom he was negotiating failed to keep his promise he reacted very strongly. Of course, he had a very rugged personality; all men who have had to achieve, contrary to the views of many of those with whom they came into contact, a tremendous change, constitutional change of a sort, have been men of that character. In our own country here in Britain we had our Oliver Cromwell, we had our Winston Churchill, in the United States they had their George Washington, and in other parts of the world, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, we have had men of rugged determination who carried out their will. But, provided that a man has his integrity of purpose and integrity of word, that ruggedness is not a hindrance but an essential ingredient of his success.

## **Sir Stafford Cripps**

I have been asked to speak to you to-night to express the deep sorrow of the British people and the British Government at the sudden passing of Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan—one of the outstanding personalities in Eastern political life.

It is now many years since I first came into contact with Mr Jinnah as a fellow-lawyer, at a time when he was practising in this country before the Privy Council in Indian Appeals. But his activities in Indian politics had made him an outstanding figure long before that. It was in his quite early years that he

first joined in the Indian nationalist movement and associated himself with the Indian Congress, which at that time contained all nationalist elements in India

I remember very well giving an address in the Jinnah Hall in Bombay in the autumn of 1939 and being told that the Hall had been erected by the members of the Indian Congress to commemorate the good work which Mr Jinnah had done while in Bombay in their cause. It was after that time that Mr Jinnah became a member and the leader of the revived Muslim League, at a time when the communal differences between the Hindus and the Muslims were tending to their separation in the nationalist movement.

From the moment that he assumed the role of a leader of the Muslims in India Mr Jinnah was never challenged in that leadership. He showed himself as an outstanding figure and one to whom the Muslim population looked more and more for their guidance and inspiration. It was at the beginning of the 1940s that he became convinced that any solution of the problem of self-government must be on the basis of autonomy for those parts of the sub-continent which had Muslim majorities, and it was in this conviction that his passionate advocacy for Pakistan had its origin.

Once he was convinced that there was no other way out he threw himself heart and soul into the effort to convert public opinion to his point of view, and throughout all the years of negotiation and argument that preceded the grant of self-government to the peoples of India, he stuck with a single-minded intensity to his determination to create a free Muslim.

State—or Pakistan as he called it. In this he never wavered, and in all the long discussions which I had with him during my three visits to India, it was clear that nothing short of attainment of this purpose would satisfy his desire for his people.

He was not a man given to compromise, and as the intensity of the arguments increased with the growing communal friction, he became more and more settled in his determination. His rigidity of views in this matter, which he declared as so vital to his people, was a measure of his passionate care for the future of the

Muslims in India, and of his sense of their need as a widely scattered minority for political protection.

In 1947 he achieved his aim. Despite the many warnings that Pakistan would find extreme difficulty in maintaining its economy, despite the obvious difficulties created by the two parts, separated by one thousand miles of Indian territory, despite all the great difficulties, he accepted the challenge of the situation and led his people to their freedom. He showed the greatest courage and determination, for, although he had many helpers and advisers amongst his own people, the final decision was his own. He thus became the first Governor-General of Pakistan to which post he was appointed by H.M. the King on 15 August 1947.

The history of that short year, since Pakistan was born into the comity of nations, will be too recent in your minds to need any recounting by me. The depth of sorrow of all the people of Pakistan is a measure of his success and of his popularity, both as Governor-General and as the leader who won for Pakistan its freedom

He was a man of the highest standard of probity and honour, difficult to negotiate with, for the very reason that he was so determined in his purpose. He was a most charming and friendly host or companion, and was ready to sit up all night to convince others, or to listen to and counter their arguments. He was a most accomplished lawyer, outstanding even amongst Indian lawyers—and a fine constitutionalist, ready and willing to devote himself wholeheartedly to his people's cause, no matter what labour this entailed for himself.

*Dawn, 18 September 1948*

### **Sir Olaf Caroe**

Jinnah was much more than a politician. Perhaps that is why politicians do not all speak well of him. In Muslim terms he was almost a Mujaddid, one of those reformers sent once in a century, as the pious believe, to reinterpret the faith and guide the believer on the true path. That outwardly he looked a little like an Englishman may be to us here not a derogation but a challenge. The chief impression that

remains is one of integrity and singleness of purpose. An undoubted outward pride of demeanour was in reality the expression of a sort of inner uprightness that would not suffer the second-rate or compromise with subtlety or devious tactics in any shape or form. It was the undeviating pursuit of what was to him the right and not merely the political end that led to Jinnah's remarkable success.

### **Sarat Chandra Bose (leader of Congress Party in Bengal)**

Mr Jinnah was great as a lawyer, once great as a Congressman, great as a leader of the Muslims, great as a world politician and diplomat and greatest of all as a man of action. By Mr Jinnah's passing away the world has lost one of its greatest statesmen and Pakistan its law-giver, philosopher and guide.

### **Sir Cowasji Jehangir (a Parsi leader and member of Indian Legislative Assembly)**

If there is one characteristic more than another which distinguishes him in public life it is his sturdy independence. Nothing will sidetrack him from what he considers is the path of Duty, Truth, Righteousness, and Equity. No amount of opposition. No threats and no danger will daunt him in his determination. He is a man full of courage and tenacity. Few have been in public life for so long in India to-day as he has been, and I venture to suggest that no one can accuse him of ever having been a time-server or an opportunist. He has never put self or his own interests before those of his country. Such men are rarely found in public life. He stands today not only as the acknowledged leader of the millions of his community but also as one of the foremost men in the public life of India.

### **Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (a prominent South Indian leader and Finance Minister of India)**

Mr Jinnah is undoubtedly a great patriot, a great parliamentarian and a dominating personality in India. What has struck me as the most outstanding quality of Mr Jinnah is his uncompromising independence and

sense of self respect. He is the incorruptible politician par excellence. No consideration will ever make him lose his self respect or give up his independence. The key to Mr Jinnah's dominating position in India today is to be found in his uncompromising spirit of independence.... Mr Jinnah is a realistic patriot. While he yields to none in his enthusiasm to obtain the political emancipation of his country he is not blind to the realities of the Indian political situation. He is a believer in communal justice. It is on the edifice of communal justice that the political superstructure of India has to be built up

Political parties and individuals who claim a monopoly of patriotism may sneer at Mr Jinnah but he will stand out as a great nationalist and real patriot

### **Chaudri Zafarullah Khan**

At a time like this when our hearts are brimful of sorrow it is not easy to put our feelings into words. Nevertheless, I shall try to put before you what must be Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's true memorial. Pakistan came into being as the achievement of a single man. In political history it was unique. For a man past middle age to have conceived of an ideal of that kind, first to have persuaded his people to see what he saw and then to have persuaded the larger community in the country, is something that one has not heard of anywhere else in history.

It was a thing of great daring that a man at the age of sixty-four, accustomed to every comfort in life, should take on an ideal which would make the severest test of all his physical and intellectual qualities. He never flinched from announcing that ideal and the whole of his knowledge and strength were put to its achievement. That this great ideal was achieved in little over seven years will always be a wonder, but a still greater, matter of surprise for the world historians is that it was almost certainly achieved by a single man.

The Quaid-i-Azam had to conceive the ideal, put it before his own people in the face of severest opposition from certain sections of the Muslims themselves, carry the nation with him towards the end of the struggle and convince both the Indian



National Congress and the British Government that this was the only feasible issue. He was possessed of a strong will, determination, high sense of duty and sacrifice. During the last few months the strain had become unbearable and he moved from Karachi. He suffered from no chronic disease but was seventy-one and without adequate reserves of strength. His medical advisers had told him to ease up in his work but he could not and, while life lasted, he went on guiding his country. He had worked himself to death

*Dawn, 19 September 1949*

**Muhammad Iqbal to Jinnah, Lahore, 21 June 1937**

. you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India







Section 8  
*Articles on Jinnah*

## QUAID-I-AZAM AS I KNEW HIM

### Altaf Husain

This is a reprint of some recorded memories of the Quaid-i-Azam by the late Mr Altaf Husain, former editor of *Dawn*, first published in *Pakistan Annual*, edited and published by Ajmal Husain in 1961. Mr Husain was one of the few who had known the Quaid-i-Azam at close quarters. He met the Quaid-i-Azam first in 1936, and in 1945 the Quaid made him Editor of *Dawn*, Delhi, the newspaper that was to play so great a role in the ensuing years, in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan. In his capacity as Editor for *Dawn*, Mr Husain came in close personal contact with the Quaid who reposed so much trust in him that he gave Mr Husain complete freedom to decide his own editorial policy for *Dawn* at a time when the fate of one hundred million Muslims was at stake. In this article Mr Altaf Husain records some of his reminiscences and impressions of the great leader as he knew and understood him.

...When I was ushered into his presence at the appointed time Mr Jinnah looked me up and down and said I was doing a very good job. He was referring to my fortnightly column in the *Statesman* called 'Through Muslim Eyes', under the by-line of 'Ain-el-Mulk'. I had started it two years earlier but, being a Government servant, my identity was a closely guarded secret known, I had thought, to only about three people.

The Quaid told me he had been greatly impressed by the column and had learned the real name of its author from the Editor of the *Statesman*. During the interview, which lasted about an hour, he gave me a thorough briefing on the political situation as it then existed. Before I took leave of him he said things about my column which made me tread on air as I walked out into the street.

My second meeting with him was in Bombay towards the end of 1938. I had left the profession of teaching and become Director of Public Information. The Acting Editor of the *Statesman*, Mr Wordsworth, was far less sympathetic towards Muslims than Mr Arthur Moore who had gone on leave. He had terminated my column and replaced it by another one called 'Muslim Jehan' by 'Musafir' which he had entrusted to Mr Humayun Kabir, a 'nationalist' Muslim now a minister in Mr Nehru's Cabinet.

I had gone to Bombay on official business but took the opportunity of seeking an interview with Mr Jinnah. This was promptly granted and when I saw him the first question he asked was why I had given up my *Statesman* column. I told him the reason. He

said he would immediately communicate with Mr Arthur Moore who had returned from leave, and I 'must' resume the column.

Shortly after my return to Calcutta Mr Moore contacted me and my column was resumed as 'Dar-el-Islam' under the new pen-name of 'Shahed'. This time it became a weekly feature.

Towards the end of 1943 I was back in my post of Director of Public Information in Calcutta. It was there that in April 1945, Khawaja Nazimuddin, then Chief Minister of Bengal, called me to his house one day and handed me a letter from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan conveying the Quaid-i-Azam's offer to me of the editorship of *Dawn*.

I was thrilled, but it was a difficult decision to make. It meant throwing away a secure and well-paid Government job without a pension, to earn which I had to put in another three years' service. But after a few days the Quaid-i-Azam wrote to me again from Matheran and said: 'Once more may I point out that as Editor of *Dawn* you will be occupying a unique position, and a man does not live on bread alone'. That settled it.

I joined *Dawn*, Delhi, in October 1945, and from then on I had the privilege of knowing the Quaid-i-Azam at closer quarters. He was not only my Leader but became also my employer.

What sort of an employer did I find him? I do not think that anywhere else in the world there was, is or will be, another newspaper boss who left his Editor so completely free to write exactly as he liked. He never issued any directive, never said 'Do this' or 'Don't do that'. In fact, he told me to study a given situation and from my honest and independent opinion on it, and then to write fearlessly what I thought—'no matter even if the Quaid-i-Azam was offended thereby'.

When Pakistan was established and the Quaid became the Governor-General, his attitude remained the same. That tradition of independence has continued ever since in *Dawn* and accepted by all concerned as a sacred legacy not to be tampered with.

It is the very human heart of the Quaid-i-Azam that memory first recalls as I write. To many he appeared austere, even stern. By speaking often of 'cold-



blooded logic' he tended to create the impression that his own blood was cold. But this was not so at all. I remember a day in November 1946, when I saw him weep, and my own tears could not be restrained. It was the seventh of the month, I think, and the morning of Baqr Id. The first great massacre of the Muslims had started, and the Bihar carnage was at its worst. Terrible tales were coming in—alas! to be often subsequently repeated—of the extermination of whole Muslim villages by well-armed, well-organised and numerically over-whelming Hindu mobs. Tales of women and girls of the most respectable Muslim families being raped, killed and their bodies thrown into wells. Tales of infants and children being brutally torn asunder, as if by devils incarnate.

I had gone to pay my Id Day homage to the Quaid at 10, Aurangzeb Road. He was sitting under a shamiana crowded with visitors. I noticed that he was unusually grave. After a short while he got up, signaled to me to follow him, and we entered his study. He settled down in his favourite green upholstered leather chair and motioned me to the other one opposite. It was almost a full minute before he spoke. I had to time to notice that he was trying to control some great surge of emotion. He asked me what was the latest news from Bihar, and I told him what I knew.

In a low voice, as if he spoke to himself alone, he recalled some of the unbelievable atrocities on Bihar Muslims which the Press had published on the previous two or three days. Suddenly I noticed that his face was wet with tears. The austere, remote, aloof and forbidding Quaid was weeping! For the next few minutes in that historic room of 10, Aurangzeb Road, there was only silence and tears. Then he got up, and after doing the needful to our eyes and faces we returned to the *shamiana*.

Another thing that I remember was the Quaid's power to carry complete conviction to his listeners. At least such was the case with me. Sitting opposite to him in his study I often listened to him dilate on one subject or another, and I invariably left him thoroughly convinced by his arguments. But it did happen now and then that soon after I left his overwhelming presence fresh doubts began to assail me.

It may be recalled that during Lord Wavell's time the Quaid twice submitted names for an interim Cabinet. The first list included that of Khwaja Nazimuddin, but that plan did not materialise because Lord Wavell went back on an agreement. Later, when the proposal was revived the Quaid-i-Azam submitted a fresh list, from which Khwaja Nazimuddin's name was dropped and Mr J.N. Mandal's substituted as representing Bengal in the Muslim League quota. I thought it extremely unfair and went to the Quaid and expressed my views quite frankly. I was prepared for a rebuke, but he was not at all annoyed. Instead, a twinkle came into his eyes and he said: 'Very well, now listen to my defence, and then you can make up your mind any way you like'.

He spoke for a good half an hour, and his main point was that it was necessary for the Muslim League to secure the support of a section of the Hindus, the Scheduled Castes. He was going to beat the Congress at its own game. I was completely convinced. When I rose to take my leave the Quaid walked with me to the door. Suddenly, we heard shouts as if of a large crowd cheering and it came from somewhere near The Quaid seemed to know what it was. A large number of Delhi's Scheduled Castes were coming to thank him for including a representative of theirs in the Muslim League quota in the interim Government. The shouts came closer. The Quaid turned to me and said: 'Do you hear that? Our allies!'

On another subject—that of Kashmir *vis-à-vis* Hyderabad—I had also my doubts. The Quaid was completely convinced that Kashmir would have to come to Pakistan. He told me once: 'Kashmir will fall into our lap like ripe apple'. What made him so sure was that while Kashmir would be contiguous to Pakistan it would be cut off from India. He had not, of course, foreseen that Radcliff would turn out to be the wrong kind of Daniel come to judgment and give away even Pathankote to India. The Quaid-i-Azam was convinced of the reason why the 'eminent' British jurist had done so. But the time is not yet to put it into print.

The Quaid-i-Azam never gave in to anything like despair. Even at times when everything seemed to be going against the Muslim League he never abandoned

hope, nor modified his stand. Had the leadership of Muslim India been in other hands a compromise would have been accepted long before 1947 and Pakistan would never come into being. The only time when something like gloom seemed to assail his mind was when the British Government, at the instance of Lord Wavell, decided to ignore the Muslim League and hand over power to the Congress alone. They installed an interim Government with Nehru as the Prime Minister, the Muslim League being left out in the cold. The Quaid-i-Azam was a man of peace and abhorred violence and bloodshed. He relied almost entirely on constitutional means. But this act of betrayal by the British forced him to a policy of direct action. The Calcutta riots costing thousands of lives and the subsequent wave of violent clashes that followed throughout the country were outside the Quaid's original calculations. But faced with that situation he accepted it as inevitable.

In the following December the Quaid-i-Azam and the Quaid-i-Millat from the Muslim League side, and Mr Nehru and Sardar Patel from the other side were invited to accompany Lord Wavell to London for a final conference with the Attlee Government. I followed, separately, to observe the scene on behalf of *Dawn*.

When the Quaid learnt where I proposed to stay (hotel accommodation, in those post-war days was very scarce in London) he asked me to shift to Claridges, and Mr Mumtaz Hasan, then Secretary to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, agreed to share his room with me. The Quaid's Secretary, Mr K.H. Khurshid, now President of the Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, and I then went to the boarding house to retrieve my baggage, but the landlady insisted on collecting a full day's rent although I had not used the room at all. (Most landladies in England are still the same!)

In the following days I had occasion to observe the Quaid's strategy in what was almost the final battle for Pakistan. He took little rest and worked and conferred sometimes long into the night. He was also extremely tired. One afternoon when he returned from a lunch meeting, at which critical talks were to take place, I went into the sitting room of his suite for

background information and any story that he might permit me to cable to the paper. The Quaid was lying outstretched on the big sofa, fully dressed, and started talking to me. But hardly had he uttered two or three sentences when his voice trailed off and he fell asleep out of sheer fatigue.

On another occasion, I was sitting with the Quaid-i-Millat in the latter's drawing room and we became so engrossed in our talk that we hardly noticed it was well past midnight. The blazing logs in the fireplace had subsided into flickering embers and the room was colder. Suddenly the communicating door between the Quaid's suite and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan's suite opened and in walked the Quaid in his dressing gown with a bottle of Vicks Vaporub in his hand. He scolded Mr Liaquat Ali for not having gone to bed because, it seems, he had caught cold and was running a little temperature.

The Quaid handed the bottle of vicks to Mr Liaquat and told him to rub the ointment well on his chest and back before retiring. Then he said good night to us and was about to return to his suite when he turned back and said: 'How are you going to rub it on your back? I think I had better help you'. Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, of course, immediately protested and I intervened and offered to perform the good offices which I did.

The Quaid-i-Azam did not think very highly of the intellectual caliber or the statesmanlike qualities of most of Britain's rulers at the time except Sir Stafford Cripps. Sir Stafford, as is well known, was rather inclined towards the Congress stand, but subsequently his attitude underwent a considerable change.

This was due to the impact of a kindred intellect—that of the Quaid—on his own. One afternoon the Quaid-i-Azam sent for me and told me that his Secretary was out on another mission and would I go downstairs to receive Sir Stafford Cripps who was coming to tea with him, and bring him up. Sir Stafford had met me once or twice in Delhi when he was out with the Cabinet Mission, and he recognised me. As we came up in the lift he asked me a thing or two about *Dawn*, but I found that his mind was far away. After ushering him into the presence of the Quaid I hovered round, and about three-quarters of an hour



later the two of them walked out—the countenance of both beaming and wreathed in smiles. The Quaid picked up Sir Stafford's coat which was lying in the lobby, and helping him to put it on, said, 'Now go and make a good speech'. The debate on the Indian situation was to take place on the following day and H.M.G. were to make a new announcement

I remember another occasion when the Quaid was talking to one or two others and myself about his impressions of the men with whom he had come to negotiate. 'They run a great country like this', he said, 'but I tell you...' and a shrug of his lean but elegant shoulders conveyed the rest of it. The verdict of history, if impartially written, ought not to be much different. But for the bungling of the men, who made Quaid-i-Azam's shoulders shrug, the transfer of power in this sub-continent would have been much more smoothly effected and most of the bloodshed could have been avoided. Even Mr Attlee's own party men admit that he was the greatest mediocre ever to take up residence at 10, Downing Street...

The Congress had again created difficulties and put its own interpretations on the latest statement of H.M.G. The Quaid-i-Azam brought me up to date on the situation and analysed the implication of the resolution which the Congress Working Committee had recently passed. He told me to debunk the Congress on those lines. This was the only occasion, besides another minor one, when I had received specific instruction from him what to write.

But I needed it as I had been absent for more than six weeks.

The Quaid-i-Azam had the strongest possible sense of honour. Even in the darkest hours of the struggle, he would not encourage resort to means not in conformity with his high moral code. I recollect an incident in when I was involved. Mr Nehru was then Prime Minister of the interim Government, and Whitehall's next move for the solution of the Indian problem was being awaited. One day, around midnight, someone knocked at the door of my flat in Sujjan Singh Park. When I opened it there stood a complete stranger, his head heavily muffled. Without introducing himself he handed to me an air-mail envelope which had been carefully prised open. It

bore a London postmark and had been addressed to Mr Nehru. Inside, there was a 6-page typed report from Mr Krishna Menon to Mr Nehru which contained a detailed account of the talk the former had a few days earlier with Lord Pethick Lawrence, then Secretary of State for India.

The letter threw a great deal of light on how H.M.G.'s mind was working at the moment and it also contained other useful information. My midnight visitor was a Muslim postal employee who had quietly pocketed the letter while the foreign mail was being sorted. He had opened and read it and brought it to me thinking that, it would be useful to the Muslim League.

I got out my typewriter and, copied the letter. Then I returned the original to my visitor and advised him to have it delivered to the addressee. Next morning I took the copy to the Quaid-i-Azam and told him how it had come into my possession. The Quaid was greatly interested in the contents of the document but obviously ill at ease at the manner in which it was obtained.

The Quaid-i-Azam laid great store by what he called a trained mind, and very early in my association with him as the Editor of his paper I learnt from him the importance of not yielding to automatic reflexes or coming to conclusions in a hurry. He seemed to believe that the best process for the training of a politician's mind was the practice of law, and that probably explains why he specially valued the opinions of those among his immediate associates who, like him, had learnt mental discipline through legal practice.

My most vivid memory of my contact with the Quaid as Governor-General, after the birth of Pakistan, relates to a rather extraordinary telephone talk I had with him one day. I had watched a Minister, who was in charge of dealing with the refugee situation arising from the still continuing riots and violence which had followed in Partition's wake, discuss with some officers what measures to take. It seemed to me that their minds and their measures were both inadequate to grapple with the immense problems posed. Next morning I sought an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam. As I did not hear anything about it by mid-day,



I rang up the Governor-General's House again. I was told that the Quaid was too busy, but on my insisting, the ADC—after an interval—said he was putting me on to the Quaid. It was a harassed voice that almost rasped, 'Altaf, what is it?'

I told him what I had witnessed the previous evening. I told him how inadequate the Minister and his measures seemed to me. The Quaid cut me short.

He said: 'I know, I know. I have told the Ministers not to sit in their houses. I have told them to go out and supervise things'.

'But, Sir', I said, 'have you a Minister big enough for a job like this?' The Quaid asked me what I had in my mind and I suggested that, for a task of such magnitude he needed a man like Mr Suhrawardy whom I had seen in action during the Calcutta riots.

'Is not Suhrawardy going round with Gandhi and doing something or other in India? But you should talk to Liaquat, he is the Prime Minister'.

With that the conversation ended and I thought I would talk to the Prime Minister as soon as I could. But two mornings later, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, who was then the Secretary-General, dropped in at my house on his way to office. He wanted to know if I could help him with, the address and telephone number of Mr Suhrawardy in Calcutta. So, I thought, the Quaid had already done something about it.

I gave Chaudhry Saheb the information but later learnt that they had not been able to contact Mr Suhrawardy. A message had therefore been sent to the Governor of West Bengal who was requested to convey to Mr Suhrawardy the Quaid's wish that he should come to Karachi and meet, him.

Mr Suhrawardy took his own time and it was some 10 days later that he turned up. But nothing came of it. Mr Fazlur Rahman had been given the first preference and included in the Cabinet, and Mr Suhrawardy was not going to be an afterthought. Of course, that was Mr Suhrawardy all over. I have often wondered whether the shape of things in Pakistan would have been any different if Mr Suhrawardy had joined the Cabinet then instead of doing so at the wrong time years later.

The Quaid-i-Azam would never have succeeded as a dictator even if he tried. Like his methods, his mind moved on constitutional lines. My last meeting with him was at Ziarat about three months before his death. I found him gloomy and pre-occupied, and even a little irritable. We discussed many things, but West Punjab's affairs were uppermost in his mind. Factional rivalry had broken out there between two groups headed by two prominent Muslim Leaguers—both, close associates of the Quaid. There was instability, and the administration was suffering. The Quaid analysed the situation for my benefit.

When he had finished I asked him why he did not intervene and use his powers as Governor-General to suspend the Constitution and promulgate Governor-General's rule. His answer showed how thoroughly constitutional was his attitude. He said the Act empowered him to suspend the Constitution in a province only when the security of the State was threatened. He could not construe the Mamdot-Daultana clash, which was an internal party matter, as a threat to Pakistan's security. Therefore, he was not prepared to invoke his powers under Section 92(A).

How many people know that the Quaid had died without speaking any last words of counsel to the Prime Minister? For reasons which some future historian may discover and disclose, the Prime Minister had not been able to go to Quetta when the Quaid was known to be sinking. He had not been able to go to the Mauripur Airport to meet the Quaid's plane on arrival.

He told me about it some months later.

'I was told what time his plane was due', he said, 'and I expected the Quaid's standard to go up on the Governor-General's House by a particular time. I sat here and watched, but there was no flag.

'Then they telephoned from Mauripur that the ambulance bringing the Quaid had broken down and another one had been called, I continued to wait and watch. I saw the flag go up almost an hour and a half later than it should have'.

When the Prime Minister was admitted to the Quaid's bedside, later that night, it was already too late.

## Eqbal Ahmad

Mohammad Ali Jinnah is an enigma of modern history. His aristocratic English lifestyle, Victorian manners, and secular outlook rendered him a most unlikely leader of India's Muslims. Yet, he led them to separate statehood, creating history and, in Saad R. Khairi's apt phrase, 'altering geography'.

Several scholars, among them H.M. Seervai, Ayesha Jalal and Saad R. Khairi, help explain his shift from Indian nationalism to Muslim separatism but the mystery of Jinnah's appeal remains. After all, neither Muslim nationalism nor the idea of Pakistan originated with him; he embraced them somewhat reluctantly.

There is another way of viewing the matter. In the twentieth century, two extraordinary personalities competed for the leadership of Indian Muslims. They were Abul Kalam Azad and Mohammad Ali Jinnah. As a point of departure in comprehending the aspirations of Muslims in India, we might review their biographical profiles

The contrasts in their family background, education, culture, and styles of leadership were remarkable. Azad's ancestors belonged since Emperor Babar's time to the Persian and Urdu-speaking Muslim aristocracy of India. His great-grandfather was one of the last Ruknul Mudarrasin, a position roughly analogous to today's 'minister of education', in Mughal India. After the War of 1857 his family migrated to Madina where it intermingled with the Sharifain aristocracy.

Azad's mother was a daughter of Sheikh Mohammed Zaher Watri, in his time Madina's best known 'Ahl'. His father Maulana Khair al-Din gained much fame in the Muslim world for his ten-volume work on Islam, and for his central role in the restoration of Nahr Zubeida, Makkah's main source of water. Among Indian Muslims who were still wistful over a lost empire, and reeling from the excesses of British colonisation, it is hard to envision a family with better credentials than Abul Kalam Azad's

Abul Kalam was a most worthy scion of an extraordinary family with roots deep in the duality—Indian and pan-Islamic—to which South



*Quaid-i-Azam decorating an officer*

Asia's Muslims have been historically linked both psychologically and culturally. Born in Makkah, he was fluent in Arabic, at ease in Persian, and a most gifted writer of Urdu prose.

He was deeply immersed in the mystical tradition of Islam. As early as 1919 he wrote on Sarmad Shaheed and the grand dichotomy between state and civil society in Islam. His later commentaries on the Holy Quran are still regarded as among the best in the world.

'Who is your master among the mufasssareen?' I asked the late Maulana Kausar Niazi some years ago. 'Abul Kalam!', he had replied reflexively. *Al-Hilal*, the magazine Azad founded in 1912, at age 22, marked the beginning of serious, mass circulation Urdu journalism.

With its successor *al-Balgah*, it remains a milestone in the development of Urdu as a popular vehicle of political and social discourse. Azad was a spellbinding speaker and, like Jinnah, an ardent nationalist. In 1923, at age 35, he was the youngest man to be elected president of the Indian National Congress, a record Nehru will break later. An overwhelming majority of Ulema supported him.

The man we shall later revere as the Quaid-i-Azam was a contemporary of Azad, and a most unlikely contender for Muslim leadership. He was born in 1876; Azad in 1890. But beyond the proximity of age, the two stood in sharp contrast to each other. While Azad's aristocratic roots lay in the Muslim heartland of UP and Bengal, Jinnah was born to a middle class business family in the port town of Hindu-dominated Karachi. At age 21 he moved to England, thence to Bombay, the modern gateway to British India. Unlike Azad who belonged to the majority Sunni denomination of Islam, Jinnah came from the minority Shia community.

He was the prototypical westernised Indian, tutored at Lincoln's Inn, tailored at Saville Row, in his youth a Shakespearean actor, a constitutionalist barrister in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, married to a Parsi woman. More at home in English than his native Gujarati, Jinnah spoke little Urdu which he would later designate as Pakistan's official language, knew neither Persian nor Arabic, and had only the rudimentary knowledge of Islam which is common to western educated Muslims. He was anathema to an overwhelming majority of the Ulema of the subcontinent, including so grand a figure as Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani and such ideologue as Abul Ala Maudoodi.

Mr Jinnah made little effort to overcome his obvious handicaps. Unlike Barrister M.K. Gandhi with whom Jinnah shared similarities of language, class, and education, and who donned the Mahatma's home spun dhoti, Jinnah stuck to his western ways and pinstripe suits. He bowed but rarely to populist symbols, appearing only occasionally at political rallies, and shunning the display of emotion in public.

Reasoned arguments and cold logic were the hallmark of Jinnah's discourse. He spoke at political

rallies as though he were addressing a courtroom, or a conference of lawyers.

This is not the populist style anywhere, least of all in South Asia. Yet, in less than a decade of his return from London in 1935, he had eclipsed his political foes no less than colleagues in the Muslim League, and successfully established himself and the League as the sole spokesman of India's Muslims. In the elections of 1937 the Muslim League barely survived as a minor political party; in 1940 it set Pakistan as its goal: Barely seven years later the new state was born.

In the introduction to this first volume of *Jinnah Papers* Professor Zaidi has asked this central question: 'What then turned Jinnah into the embodiment of Muslim hopes and aspirations?' One answer, admirably documented by Saad Khairi and H.M. Seervai, is that the leadership of the Indian National Congress allowed Jinnah no alternative even though he constantly probed for one. But a deeper explanation offered in Professor Zaidi's Introduction is worth quoting: 'What distinguished Jinnah from his great contemporaries is that he was quite self-consciously a modern man—one who valued, above all, reason, discipline, organisation, and economy. Jinnah differed from other Muslim Leaders in so far as he was uncompromisingly committed to substance rather than symbol, reason rather than emotion, modernity rather than tradition.'

But how could this apparently modern figure so powerfully appeal to a people laden with tradition and religious inertia? I should summarise Professor Zaidi's answer to this question: Jinnah's peculiar appeal worked because collectively Indian Muslims had an instinctive if inarticulate grasp of recent history. It was a community conscious of its declining condition, and it had experienced the ineffectiveness of old remedies.

After all, neither the revivalist prescriptions of Shah Waliullah, nor the fiery war cries of Syed Ahmed Shahid, nor the flamboyant, though confused, demarche of the Khilafat movement—with which Abul Kalam Azad had become associated and from which Jinnah kept a pronounced distance—provided



relief from the ills which afflicted Muslim society in India

Restorationists alternatives had nearly exhausted when Jinnah re-entered the second act of contemporary Muslim tragedy in India. On their part, leaders of the Indian National Congress were so overcome with hubris that they refused to open viable political doors to this wounded and bewildered people

Significantly, by then the modernist view of the causes of Muslim decline and of the remedies it required, especially as articulated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his ideological successors, including Iqbal, had seeped into the consciousness of the Muslim intelligentsia. There was to this phenomenon also a pan-Islamic context: In the 1930s the Muslim world as a whole had entered what Albert Hourani has described as the Liberal Age when Muslim nationalism grew exponentially on the premises of modernism and reform. Mr Jinnah returned from England in 1935 to find himself swept to the crest of this wave.

In the four decades that have followed his passing, Pakistan has moved precipitously away from the country its founding father had envisioned, and the people had created at costs beyond counting. The two volumes of *Jinnah Papers* and the archives from which they are drawn do not tell the story of the cowardice and betrayals which followed the Quaid-i-Azam.

What they do tell us is who he was, how he waged a difficult and deeply painful struggle for statehood, the vision he nourished, and the hopes he had for this country. I would like to recall him and remind us in passing of what we have done with his legacy. I am sorry if in the process I cause some discomfort to some of you readers

## WHITHER QUAID'S VISION

### Liaquat H. Merchant

As we approach the birth anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah realization dawns again that the country which he founded has on account of various factors and circumstances drifted away from his ideals, principles and vision. The vision was for a modern Muslim State the constitution of

which would be democratic embodying the essential principles of Islam such as democracy, rule of law, freedom of speech and expression, women's rights, human rights, equality, tolerance, justice and fair play for all and to all, a country where all citizens could freely practice their religious beliefs and achieve and political and economic independence.

The very concept of democracy has inbuilt into it the three pillars of State, each functioning independently without fear and domination from the other. The concept of an independent Judiciary as the protector of fundamental rights of citizens, preservation of the Constitution and exercising the power of judicial review of laws and executive actions under its constitutional jurisdiction is an essential ingredient of democracy. The confrontation between the Executive and the Judiciary, both vital organs of the State, since 9th March 2007; the lawyers' movement for restoration of the ousted Chief Justice Ifkhar Mohammad Chaudhary; the acceptance of the Full Court judgment of the Supreme Court; consolidation by extremists and militants in various areas of NWFP and Swat; the innumerable attacks by extremists and terrorists on the armed forces, law enforcing agencies and citizens through the medium of suicide bombers; the attempted destabilization of the country by extremists and terrorists; election for the President of Pakistan by the incumbent president while holding the post of Chief of Army Staff under cover of the seventeenth amendment; the stay order passed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan on the issue of eligibility to contest the presidential elections; the massive bomb blasts that took place in Karachi during return of Ms Benazir Bhutto to Pakistan after eight years in exile resulting in the highest casualties and injuries; the proclamation of emergency by General Pervez Musharraf the Chief of Army Staff; the Constitution being put in abeyance; the issuance of the Provisional Constitution Order 2007 resulting in removal of members of the legal fraternity representing different shades of public opinion and political views; arrests of representatives of the media and closure of T.V. channels and the continuation of emergency with transfer to the President of the power to lift the emergency imposed by the Chief of Army Staff have left deep divisions and scars. Are any of these



actions consistent with Quaid's ideals, principles and vision is a question which every Pakistani must ask of himself or herself as there are arguments both for and against the position and actions adopted by the Government.

Jinnah repeatedly spoke of the Mussalmans as a nation according to any definition or test of a nation as being 100 million people with their own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions, with our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. Has this definition lost its meaning.

Similar in 1948 Jinnah said that Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught us equality of man, justice and fair play to every body and we are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future Constitution of Pakistan. Is that vision lost or temporarily impaired.

Jinnah also spoke of the need to draw a distinction between our rights and duty to the State as a whole. Our duty to the State he said, demands greater sense of vision and a greater sense of patriotism. Our duty to the State often demands that we must be ready to submerge our individual or personal interests into the common cause for common good, he said 'Remember we are building up a state which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic world. We, therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces and limited nationalism. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanize us into one united and strong nation. This is the only way in which we can achieve our goal.'

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had offered us a vision, an ideal and an alluring destiny which the Muslims could shape for themselves for the future generations to come. Have we lived up to his expectations and carried his mission forward and built Pakistan into a strong, politically and economically viable country or have we succumbed to the designs of enemies of Pakistan by allowing ourselves to be embroiled in parochial, regional, religious, racial and ethnic differences, fanaticism, extremism and

violence while forgetting and ignoring such cherished qualities as tolerance, understanding, patience, equality, unity, faith and discipline all of which are necessary for survival and progress? Has there been a lack of effective leadership at the highest level in the country and the provinces at whose behest the people of Pakistan can be persuaded to emerge from political parties and through the process of elections. There is a grave necessity of national and provincial leadership which will guide Pakistan away from provincialism, sectarianism, extremism and violence and bring the people of Pakistan together again under one fold with a deep sense of loyalty and a firm commitment to Pakistan by removing all prejudices, grievances and misgivings. We need to knit ourselves into the fabric of Pakistan because we cannot survive without Pakistan in much the same way as Pakistan cannot survive without us.

As we proceed closer to another transition from military rule to democracy through an electoral process not entirely satisfactory or to the liking of political parties, we must endeavor to stop the continuous cycle of constitutional deviations that have occurred in Pakistan on a regular basis, followed by validation bills passed during the process of transition to democracy. This merry-go-round must come to an end and Pakistan must take its place as a nation with full democratic credentials having a sovereign parliament and an independent judiciary reigning supreme and the executive, whether a president or prime minister, working to fulfill the mandate given to him by the people at a free, fair and transparent election process.

At this stage, we do not need to get divided between moderates and extremists. Drawing of battle lines of this nature can lead to polarization and disastrous consequences. Such divisions started with ill-advised policies after 9/11 but people do not learn from mistakes of others.

We need political parties to act with a great deal of maturity and exercise control over an overzealous inherent desire to come into power by remembering that when elected they will constitute elected representatives whose duty will be only to serve Pakistan and its citizens. Democratic practices which

political parties speak about must also be practiced by the parties themselves while for the electorate to see and understand prior to casting valuable votes at the ballot-box because in the ultimate analysis the ultimate sovereign are the people of Pakistan.

Simon Jenkins in his article (*Dawn*, July 1) says that rulers should be made to study history while Winston Churchill is reported to have said 'The longer you look back, the further you can look forward'. Could our political leaders please look back over the past 60 years at our failures and then look forward to avoid them in the future. The support from all sections of society for the independence of the judiciary as an organ of state says it all. Let us build a better Pakistan for the benefit of all of us

Sixty years after achieving independence, the Pakistani State and its people are wondering what caused a repeated derailment of the democratic process in Pakistan and repeated emergence of authoritarian rule. The vision of democracy as constituting a political order involving political process, tolerance, freedom of the media, careful political handling of issues so as to avoid instability in the State and denial of law, order and security seem to have evaded a nation which was born with the power of vote, the power of speech and the power of the pen although the Pakistan movement was essentially a democratic struggle launched by the Muslims of Indian sub-continent

There is no doubt that there has been dearth of leadership which is above contradiction and personal interest. The role-model of Jinnah as a national leader could not be matched by any stretch of imagination. Reproduced below is a description of Jinnah by no less a person than Sarojini Naidu who said.

The casual pen might surely find it easier to describe his limitations rather than to define his virtues...But the true criterion of Jinnah's greatness lies not in the range and variety of his knowledge and experience, but in the faultless perception and flawless refinement of his subtle mind and spirit; not in the diversity of aims and challenge of a towering personality, but rather in a lofty singleness and sincerity of purpose and the lasting charm of a character animated by a brave conception of duty and an austere and lovely code of private honour and public integrity.

The emphasis is on the words 'An austere code of private honour and public integrity'.

Pakistan is no exception to a large number of Muslim countries which have poverty, illiteracy, suppression of the rights of women, religious extremism and an authoritarian way of life. To enable democracy to flourish, we must lay maximum emphasis on education and for the development of tolerance among the people. These were issues which were close to Jinnah's heart and he repeatedly spoke of the need for education, tolerance, human rights, women rights, justice, fair-play, equality and a Government dedicated to serve the people. Separation of religion from politics was another issue on which great emphasis was laid by Jinnah.

Very much a subject of controversy is the Province of NWFP and on this issue Jinnah while expressing his gratitude to the Muslims of Tribal Areas for their numerous messages of good wishes and greetings, in a statement of 17th June 1947 said:

I thank our Muslim brethren of the Tribal Areas across the North West Frontier Province for their messages of good wishes and greetings, which have come in large numbers, and I take this opportunity to assure them that we shall adjust and settle our affairs in a brotherly way. There is no desire on our part to interfere with their freedom. We shall be happy to meet them and enter into such arrangements with them, as would be in the mutual interests of both, and the Muslims generally.

On the issue of minorities within and outside Pakistan this is what Jinnah said:

Minorities to whichever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed

While inaugurating the Pakistan Broadcasting service on 15th August 1947, Mr Jinnah delivered the following message to the nation:

It is with feelings of greatest happiness and emotion that I send you my greetings. August 15 is the

birthday of the independent and sovereign State of Pakistan. It makes the fulfillment

At this supreme moment my thoughts are with those valiant fighters in our cause. Pakistan will remain grateful to them and cherish the memory of those who are no more.

The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how can a nation, containing many elements, live in peace and amity and work for the betterment of all its citizens, irrespective of caste or creed.

Our object should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against any one. We stand by the United Nation's Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.

This day marks the end of a poignant phase in our national history and it should also be the beginning of a new and a noble era. Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought that as long as they fulfill their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear.

To the freedom loving tribes on our borders and the States beyond our borders, we send our greetings and assure that Pakistan will respect their status and will extend to them its most friendly co-operation in preserving peace. We have no ambition beyond the desire to live honourably and let others live honorably.

The turmoil which commenced with the attempted removal of the Chief Justice of Pakistan in March 2007 culminated with restoration of the Chief Justice in office by a Full Court judgment of the Supreme Court of Pakistan in July. The Government publicly declared that it had accepted the judgment of the Supreme Court but that was clearly not to be. The confrontation between the Executive and the Judiciary continued in the case of deportation and return of former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his forcible exit once again as well as the order for production of missing persons and release of some detainees for want of charges or proof. The continuous attacks

by terrorists on the armed forces in Rawalpindi and elsewhere gave rise to the declaration of an emergency and the promulgation of the Provisional Constitution Order 2007 under cover of which severe action in curtailment of constitutional rights and civil liberties was taken which involved a large scale removal of Judges, beating up and arrests of lawyers and media persons particularly the electronic media. Ultimately Nawaz Sharif returned home triumphantly with the full backing of the Saudi King and Government and the lawyers were released along with media persons.

The banned television channels came back except Geo which was selectively punished. Elections were called and General Musharraf ultimately doffed his uniform, appointed a new COAS who assumed command of the armed forces. The President took oath under the Constitution of Pakistan which was administered by the Chief Justice who had taken oath under the PCO.

During the course of turmoil over the past few months, the demand heard all around from the legal community which led a valiant struggle for the restoration of the independence of the Judiciary and by the political parties was in support of the democracy, civil rights and liberties and freedom of speech and expression.

How important the issue of civil liberties and freedom was to the Founder of Pakistan can only be understood in the context of views expressed by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah when the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill was introduced in the Imperial (Indian) Legislative Council on the recommendation of the Rowlatt Committee:

On February 6, 1919, Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, introduced the Bill in the Legislative Council based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. In 1915, the Defence of India Act was passed to cope with the situation created by the World War I. This Act was purely a war measure and the government was, after the termination of the War, reluctant to part with the powers conferred by the Act, so the result was the introduction of this Bill

The first part provided for the speedy trial of offences and also for trials in camera. Part II dealt with



preventive measures. Part III of the Bill empowered the Governor-General to declare that in his opinion that particular movement was likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State. Part IV applied to the provisions of Part III 'automatically to persons known to have been concerned in revolutionary crime at present and who are under restriction under the Defence of India Act by reason of that connection'. Part V was mainly ancillary and was to be considered in the Select Committee.

M.A. Jinnah while opposing the bill in an open deliberation in the Assembly said:

My Lord, to any man who believes in law and justice, these measures must seem abhorrent and shocking.

My first ground is this, that it is against the fundamental principles of law and justice, namely, that no man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty, without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure. My second reason is, that this is a wrong remedy for the disease, namely, these revolutionary crimes, although I for one am prepared to accept as correct the findings of facts of the Rowlatt Committee that the crimes of the nature indicated have been committed. My third ground is that the powers which are going to be assumed by such powers are likely to be abused, and in the past we have instances where such powers have been abused. My fourth ground is that there is no precedent or parallel that I know of in any other civilized country where you have laws of this character enacted. My fifth ground is that this is a most inopportune moment. My sixth ground is that the proposed measures are of a permanent character and not temporary measures intended only to deal with a emergency of a temporary character. And the last ground why I oppose this measure is that my Lord, I do not wish to state it by way of any threat or intimidation to Government, but I wish to state it because it is my duty to tell you that, if these measures are passed, you will create in this country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation the like of which you have not witnessed, and it will have, believe me, a most disastrous effect upon the good relations that have existed between the Government and the people.

My answer is this, my Lord, that by these powers of an executive character you may be able to get hold of more real offenders but at the risk and at the cost of many other innocent men who will be persecuted

and who will have no chance, no opportunity, of a proper trial.

But what guarantee is there for the innocent? Then you will ask, don't you trust the executive? My answer is that I certainly cannot trust the executive, because I am a firm believer—I do not care how many Rowlatt Committees will decide and recommend—I am a firm believer that no man's liberty should be taken away for a single minute without a proper judicial inquiry. I say that by these executive powers, you may be able to lay your finger on the real offenders, but in trying to get at the real offenders, I venture to say, that you would clap many innocent people, and you will clap many innocent people who will be unable to resist the executive orders.

However are you really going to come to any decision? You know that even in a court of law, where you have sometimes the ablest counsel on both sides, it is difficult to decide whether a person is really guilty or not, and we know that juries, men of common sense, men of business, have differed. We know that judges have differed. We know that a Court sometimes convicts a man of murder, and you go to a court of appeal and on the same evidence the man is acquitted. This is a very serious matter when you are dealing with the liberty of the subject. How can you expect this investigating authority, sitting in camera, behind the back of the person accused, to come to any really useful conclusion?

The same thing will apply in the more drastic preventive measures. Therefore, my Lord, it is no use shirking the issue, it is no use hedging round the whole of this question. It is quite clear that it is obvious that this measure is of a most serious character. It is dangerous. It imperils the liberty of the subject and fundamental rights of a citizen and, my Lord, standing here as I do, I say that no man who loves fair play, who loves justice and who believes in the freedom and the liberty of the people can possibly give his consent to a measure of this character.

My Lord, therefore, in conclusion I would again make an appeal to your Lordship's Government as a man, my Lord, who is a lover of the Constitution, as a man, my Lord, who is a lover of law and order, as a man who believes in discipline and authority, I would appeal to you to consider your position before you proceed with this Bill any further.



My Lord, this Part of the Bill is, as I said on the very first occasion, to me abhorrent and shocking, and on that occasion, my Lord, I stated my reasons for it.

Now, my Lord, that is the sole question which the Council has got to decide. If I may quote an authority—and I am quoting Blackstone who has been quoted by Lord Shaw (I am not quoting this as a judgment, but merely as a quotation from Blackstone and for convenience sake, I am quoting it from his judgment). This is what he says:-

'Blackstone is quite clear upon the practice of the Constitution. He searchingly treats the case of both of liberty and life as tests both and equally of one and the same principle—the very principle which is under scrutiny in the present case. To bereave a man of life or by violence to confiscate his estate without accusation or trial would be so gross and notorious an act of deposition as must at once convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the whole kingdom, but confinement of the person, by secretly hurrying him to jail where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a less public and less striking and therefore a more dangerous engine of arbitrary government.'

And this is, my Lord, the point.

And yet sometimes when the State is in real danger, even this may be a necessary measure.

But the happiness of our constitution is that it is not left to the executive power to determine when the danger of a State is so great as to render this measure expedient.

My Lord, I repeat this what is happening here? Who is determining that danger to the State here today? I emphatically say, the executive Government.

The authority is parliament only or legislative power that whenever it sees proper can authorize the crown, by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for a short and limited time, to imprison suspected persons without giving any reasons for so doing

Therefore, my Lord, if these powers are given to you, you will be imprisoning suspected persons, not necessarily guilty persons, and if you are going to suspect 500 people, I dare say in that 500 lot you may have some really guilty one. But what about the innocent?

I assure you that if I was convinced that the British rule was in danger, if I was convinced that there was a real danger to India, I shall have no hesitation, as

I said, although in my own heart I shall be loath to give my sanction to a measure of this character, yet I shall do it. But I am not satisfied, my Lord, I am not satisfied that you have made out a case to ask us to place these powers in your hands.

My Lord, I will only quote the words of a very great authority before I say anything more. In a very famous case, which is known as Daniel's case, one of the greatest jurists and lawyers, laid down three propositions:-

'The first proposition is that no man can be imprisoned upon the will and pleasure of any, but a bondman or a villain. The second proposition, if a freeman of England might be imprisoned at the will and pleasure of the king, or by his commandant, he were in worse case even than a villain. The Third proposition, a freeman imprisoned without cause is civilly dead.'

My Lord, the provision of Part III of this Bill will bring about this result. First, the selection of the victim will be left to the plenary discretion of the bureaucracy; secondly, my Lord, it means the negation of public safety and defence; and thirdly, my Lord, I say that it is poison to the Commonwealth.

In the 3rd week of March 1919, Rowlatt Bill Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill was passed. On 28 March, the Hon. Mr M.A. Jinnah wrote a letter to the Viceroy in which he tendered his resignation from the Imperial Legislative Council as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Bill.

The passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India, and the assent given to it by your Excellency as Governor-General against the will of the people, has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British justice. Further, it has clearly demonstrated the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council which is a legislature but in name a machine propelled by a foreign Executive. Neither the unanimous opinion of the non-official Indian members nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect.

The Government of India and Your Excellency, however, have thought it fit to place on the Statute-book a measure admittedly obnoxious and decidedly coercive at a time of peace, thereby substituting the executive for the judicial.

The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted and the constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time when there is no real danger to the State by an over fretful and incompetent bureaucracy which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion and their sole plea is that the powers when they are assumed will not be abused.

I, therefore, as a protest against the passing of the Bill and the manner in which it was passed tender my resignation as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council for I feel, that under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council nor consistently with one's self-respect is cooperation possible with a Government that shows such utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council Chamber, and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside

In my opinion, a Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace forfeits its claim to be called a civilized Government and I still hope that the Secretary of State for India, Mr Montagu, will advise His Majesty to signify his disallowance to this Black Act

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*The author is President of The Jinnah Society, Managing Trustee of the Jinnah Foundation and Executive Trustee of Quaid-i-Azam Aligarh Education Trust*

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## **JINNAH: LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION**

### **Hasan-Askari Rizvi**

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a charismatic leader who commanded the unqualified loyalties of the Muslims of British India. He did not acquire charisma overnight. It was the product of his tireless efforts to protect and promote Muslim identity, rights and interest in the British Indian context which convinced most Muslims that he was a trustworthy leader and a saviour.

They demonstrated their full faith in his leadership by voting for the Muslim League in the 1946 provincial elections. Had the Muslim League not established its credentials as the only representative of the Muslim community in 1946, the dream of a separate homeland would not have realized in August 1947.

His visionary leadership transformed the Muslim community of the subcontinent into a nation rooted in their religio-cultural and historical identity and a shared perspective on their future that was articulated in the socio-political and economic context of British rule in India

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's political disposition was shaped by a number of factors. His modern education in India and England, especially his exposure to British liberal traditions at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century had a profound impact on him. He began his political career in India while maintaining strong ties with the Indian leaders of liberal outlook.

This experience influenced his analysis of the British rule in India and its impact on the Muslims. He was often critical of the British Indian government and viewed the British rule as an affront to human dignity.

His legal background was another formative influence on him. He took the law degree from England and built his reputation as one of leading legal experts in India. This influenced his role as a parliamentarian and as an advocate of the Muslims rights and interests.

His law background enabled him to function as an effective legislator who raised important legal, political and administrative issues in the house. This background enabled Jinnah to move the Muslim Wakf Validating Bill in the Indian Legislative Council in March 1911. It was passed in 1913, giving it the distinction of being the first private member initiated law. Commenting on Jinnah's efforts for the passage of this law, Mrs Sarojini Naidu remarked:

His admirable skill and tact in piloting through such an intricate and controversial measure—the first instance of a bill passing into legislation on the motion of a private member—won him not only the appreciation of his colleagues but also... [of] his co-religionists all over India, who while still regarding him a little outside the orthodox pale of Islam were so soon to seek his advice and guidance in their political affairs.

He was known for constitutional and legal approach for advocacy of the Muslim demands and opposed street agitation. It was only in the last couple of years

of the independence movement that he engaged in popular mobilization and the Muslim League adopted the strategy of street mobilization.

He made his reputation for his brilliant and succinct advocacy of the Muslim case for a separate homeland in the dialogue with the British Indian government. In the post-independence period he emphasized constitutionalism, the rule of law, civil and political rights and equal citizenship as the cardinal principles of governance.

He maintained a strong attachment with Indian Muslim cultural identity which influenced his politics. Initially, he worked with the Congress party. In October 1913, he joined the All India Muslim League but maintained his membership of the Congress.

In 1920, he severed his formal ties with the Congress party and devoted fully to the Muslim League and the Muslim cause in British India. The protection and advancement of the Muslim identity, rights and interests were the main concerns of his political career.

He combined idealism with pragmatism. He worked for Hindu-Muslim unity in the second decade of the twentieth century. His return to this theme in

the later years in the form of cooperation between the Muslim League and the Congress party was contingent on the assurances for the protection of rights and interests of the Muslim.

Similarly, his demand for a separate homeland also reflected idealism. However, his idealism was always punctuated with realism and pragmatism.

The combination of idealism and pragmatism is reflected in Jinnah's strategies for the protection and advancement of Muslim identity, rights and interests. Initially, he worked towards promoting Hindu-Muslim harmony and cooperation.

His support to Hindu-Muslim unity was contingent on provision of safeguards and constitutional guarantees for the protection of Muslim rights and interests. He believed that adequate constitutional and legal guarantees could secure the Muslim identity, rights and interests. He also advocated the introduction of federal system with autonomy to provinces.

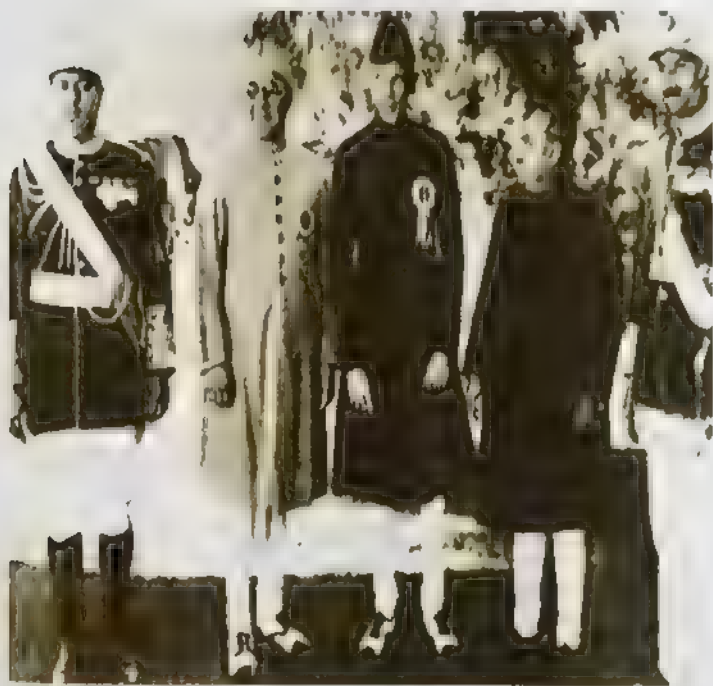
These two inter-related demands, i.e. constitutional and legal safeguards and federal system with provincial autonomy, were projected as pre-requisites for the Muslim acceptance of any constitutional system for the future of India.

However, the sufferings of the Muslims under the Congress provincial governments in the non-Muslim majority provinces in the first run of provincial autonomy during 1937-39 led Jinnah and the Muslim League to rethink their position on the federal solution to the Hindu-Muslim question.

The Muslim League under his leadership demanded the partition of India in March 1940 to ensure a secure political future for the Muslims. He continued to demonstrate flexibility while pursuing the separatism goal.

The demand for a separate homeland was based on a down-to-earth analysis of the political situation in India. The Muslim League's initial decision to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) was a good example of pragmatism and realism.

The same can be said about the revision of this decision and the refusal of the Muslim League to



Jinnah with Liaquat Ali Khan (left) and Khwaja Nazimuddin (right)

boycott the first session of the Indian Constituent Assembly which was held on 9 December 1946.

Jinnah's views on the political priorities for independent Pakistan were shaped by the above-mentioned intellectual and professional influences, the political interaction with other political players in British India, a strong commitment to socio-cultural identity of the Muslims of British India and how to secure their political future.

He viewed Islam as being relevant to Muslim national identity formation in this subcontinent. The reference to Islamic principles and symbols began to surface in Jinnah's public discourse when he started the re-organization of the Muslim League after his return from England in 1934.

This was done to articulate Muslim identity, rights and interests in the political context of British India and to convince the Congress of the distinct national heritage and character of the Muslims.

The Islamic principles, teachings and symbols were also invoked for mobilizing Muslim masses for establishing the representative character of the Muslim League.

He also talked of the relationship between Islam and the Pakistan state. However, he never envisioned Pakistan as a religious or puritanical Islamic state as advocated by most orthodox Islamic scholars.

He never described the Sharia as the constitution for Pakistan. Nor did the Muslim League pass any resolution in the pre-independence period that Sharia would be Pakistan's constitution. He maintained that the constitution would be framed by the constituent assembly.

Jinnah viewed Islam as a civilization and culture, an ethical basis for the society and a source of law. His statements combined the principles and teachings of Islam with modern and universally accepted notions of governance and political management.

He perceived Pakistan as a modern democratic state that derived its ethical inspirations from Islam. His address to the constituent assembly on 11 August 1947 was a charter for political and cultural tolerance,

advocating the notion of equal citizenship irrespective of religion, caste and creed.

He referred back to this address in October 1947 and said, 'I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the constituent assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets.'

Jinnah died before he could create political institutions and processes based on his views about the future of Pakistan. His successors delayed constitution-making and failed to create consensus on the basis of Jinnah's political advice.

Rather, each competing interest articulated Jinnah to serve his partisan interest, causing much confusion about Jinnah's views. If you read these partisan interpretations one gets the impression that there are several Jinnahs.

The confusion about Jinnah's views can be removed by avoiding a selective use of his speeches and statements

His views should be interpreted in totality, keeping in view the political context of the statement and his personality disposition and orientations. His intellectual and professional background is also relevant as well as the troubled political context of the first year of independence.

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## **JINNAH: POLITICS AND PERSONALITY**

### **Muhammad Reza Kazimi**

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a campaigner for India's freedom. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was an instrument of India's partition. Both claims are valid. Whether this represented an advance or a derailment depends on the meaning of the word 'freedom'. The Hindus had not gained freedom on the defeat of the Muslims. Would the Muslims gain freedom on the withdrawal of the British?

The first step in the direction of partition was taken when the Congress leadership transited from Jinnah to



Gandhi. Both had emerged together as champions of India's freedom, both were disciples of Gopal Krishna Gokhale; and both gained prominence by protesting against the plight of Indians in South Africa; Gandhi with his novel Satyagraha, and Jinnah by confronting the Viceroy face to face.

Was then their later divergence an outcome of their vision, or their circumstances? These were not insuperable, and may not have come about without the fateful intervention of Motilal Nehru who primed Jinnah to oppose Gandhi's Non-Cooperation resolution at Nagpur in 1920, and then reneged from his stand.

Only 10 days before, Jinnah had spoken of his belief in the ideal of non-cooperation, and even at Nagpur, where he resigned, Jinnah had not opposed the principles, but the impractical portions of Gandhi's resolution.

The resignation from Congress brought about a personality change. Dewan Chaman Lal who knew Jinnah as a young man described his 'uninhibited laughter and general bonhomie'. Jinnah's formality and reserve developed as a reaction to the social treatment he received from his Congress compatriots, which was strange, considering his close friendship with Nehru's father and Patel's brother.

Again, had Gandhi not gone against the plea of Jinnah by raising the religious sentiments of the (Muslim) masses, the role of the Muslim League would be limited to being a moderating influence on Indian politics.

His reserve also developed when his tempestuously pursued marriage with a young girl broke down. Kanji Dwarkadas a mutual friend was called home by Jinnah the day after the heart rending scene of his wife's burial.

Never have I found a man so sad and so bitter. He screamed his heart out, speaking to me for over two hours, myself listening to him patiently and sympathetically, occasionally putting a word here and there. Something, I saw snapped in him.

A number of freedom fighters were widowers; Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Abul Kalam Azad, but only Jinnah's wife had been politically active.

Jinnah had resigned from Congress politically, not psychologically. Jinnah caused a split in the Muslim League over the composition of the Simon Commission rather than abandon Congress (which he had left) in its struggle.

The Viceroy Lord Willingdon found Jinnah more Congress than Congress. But Jinnah was alienated time and again by Congress; by the abjuration of the Lucknow Pact, by going back on the Delhi Muslim Proposals, by disregarding the tacit UP 1937 electoral understanding, and finally by reneging on the Grouping clause. Without these rebuffs Jinnah would not have faced a choice between territorial loyalty and communal survival.

Jinnah was not elitist in politics. He led a mass demonstration against Lord Willingdon. He dealt with tough hecklers and their political patrons in a Bombay meeting held to promote the candidature of R.P. Paranjypte.

Ian Bryant Wells has quoted Jinnah's speech on the Elementary Education Bill: 'Are you going to keep millions and millions of people under your feet for the fear that they may demand more rights?' In spite of these sentiments Indian historians favour a Jinnah who would bow before Nehru, not a Jinnah who would stand up to Lord Mountbatten.

One reviewer T.W. Hutton, identified Jinnah's fear of emotion as central to both his politics and personality. This trait eluded his Congress contemporaries. Speaking at the All-Parties conference in 1928, Jinnah said:

Every country struggling for freedom and desirous of establishing a democratic system has had to face the problem of minorities...minorities cannot give any thing to the majority and the majority alone can give...

Twenty years later, addressing the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam said:

You may belong to any religion, cast or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was upholding a life long principle ignored equally by the citizens of Indian and Pakistan.

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*The author is a historian and literary critic*

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## THE QAID AS A STATESMAN

Mahdi Masud

In his authoritative book on India's independence and partition, *The Great Divide*, H.V. Hodson, one-time Constitutional Adviser to the Government of British India, paid an unprecedented tribute to Mr Jinnah.

Of all the personalities in the last act of the drama of India's re-birth to independence, Mohammed Ali Jinnah is the most important. The irresistible demand for Indian independence and the British will to relinquish power were products of influences that had long been at work; the protagonists on this or that side of the imperial relationship were the tools of historical forces that they did not create and could not control. Whereas the irresistible demand for Pakistan and the solidarity of the Indian Muslims behind that demand were the creation of that decade alone and supremely the creation of one man.'

While the tribute to the historic role played by Quaid-i-Azam is well-merited, it may be noted that the dormant, latent urge for restoration in some form of the tradition of Muslim political rule in the sub-continent had always simmered in the Muslim political sub-consciousness throughout the period of colonial rule, following the end of the Moghul Empire. It was the achievement of Jinnah to have accurately sensed this strong under-current and to have built on this latent urge for mobilizing the Muslim community into a sense of nationhood. In fact over the preceding decades before the Lahore resolution, several schemes had been floated for the re-configuration of the Indian constitutional edifice, whereby the Muslim minority could have a more independent role than that of a permanent minority in united India.

This continuing consciousness of a distinct identity for the Indian Muslims was well brought out by the *New York Times* in its editorial comment on the

coming into being of the state of Pakistan, on 14 August 1947. The *New York Times* said inter alia,

From times immemorial, innumerable peoples have entered the sub-continent from Central Asia and beyond. In due course, nearly all of these peoples got absorbed in the amorphous texture of Indian society. The only people who managed to retain their separate identity were the Indian Muslims. And a living testimony to that is the establishment of the state of Pakistan today

As suggested earlier, Jinnah's achievement lay in giving voice to the underlying national consciousness of the Muslim community and overcoming impossible odds in translating this consciousness into the struggle for a separate state. Jinnah thus met the acid test of a statesman in terms of the lofty standards set by Hegel who wrote that 'The great man of the age is one who can put into words the will of his age; who can tell his age what its will is and actualize it. What he does is the heart and essence of his age, the actualizes his age'.

At this stage when durable peace and sustained economic development in the sub-continent depends on the course and consequences of the Pak-India peace process, currently underway, it would be useful to recall that the Quaid never visualized partition as the precursor to a running confrontation between the successor states of British India but as the prelude to peaceful co-existence between them and between the various communities in the sub-continent

It would be relevant to recall Quaid-i-Azam's memorable words of 11 March 1948,

Our permanent interests demand that India and Pakistan should coordinate for the purpose of playing their due role in international affairs. But that depends on whether we can resolve our differences. If we can put our own house in order, we may be able to play an important role externally. For this India would have to shed its superiority complex and deal with Pakistan as an equal.

India is unfortunately yet to do so.

The Quaid's words, quoted above, are a telling rebuttal of the charge of narrow minded communalism leveled against the Quaid and a reflection of his strong desire for a peaceful and cooperative sub-continent in the

wake of partition. How prophetic were his words that harmonious co-existence would ultimately depend on the resolution of Indo-Pakistan disputes which in turn would be possible only if India was prepared to treat Pakistan as an equal.

Most regrettably, in spite of many adjustments and compromises made by Pakistan, in the context of the peace process, little reciprocity has been forthcoming from India. In a departure from its traditional stand, Pakistan allowed a number of confidence-building measures in various fields without any progress having taken place in the composite dialogue or dispute resolution. On the pivotal issue of Kashmir, the Indian refrain of 'atoot ang' and 'no change in borders' has continued. Instead of learning from history, India continues to carry it like a burden on its shoulders, blocking flexibility and room for manoeuvre. Consequently, South Asia, equipped with human and natural resources, continues to suffer from self-inflicted wounds.

While the issue of the peace process with India and resolution of Kashmir is our most important external challenge, inside the country and on our frontiers with Afghanistan, we are confronted with the challenge of extremism. The Quaid's vision of liberalism, moderation and tolerance, protection of the weak, the poor and the minorities had been enshrined in his famous address of 11 August 1947. How well had the London *Times*, in its obituary on Quaid's death, captured this vision of the founder of Pakistan.

In the face of difficulties which would have overwhelmed a lesser man, it was given to Jinnah to fulfill the hopes foreshadowed in the inspired vision of the great Iqbal by creating for the Muslims of India a homeland where the old glory of Islam could grow afresh into a modern state, worthy of its place in the comity of nations.

The Quaid's achievement of Pakistan involved historic ramifications and consequences far beyond the sub-continent. The concept of solidarity and coordination between independent Islamic states, a prominent feature of today's world, owes more than what is generally recognized to the successful struggle for the establishment of Pakistan, fuelled by the concept of Muslim nationalism in the sub-continent. At mid-

point in the twentieth century when the World War II, was being fashioned, inter-state organization was conceived either in terms of economic coordination, security grouping or regional/ethnic linkage such as the European Common Market, the Comecon, the Afro-Asian Conference the Organization of American states, the Arab League, the Warsaw Pact, NATO, Cento, Seato, the Non-aligned Conference and similar other organizations and groupings.

The concept of an international organization based on links of Islamic solidarity was regarded as chimerical and impracticable, if not Utopian. Within the Islamic world, separate Arab states emerging from Ottoman/Western colonial rule were animated by Arab nationalism. Turkey, on its part, divested of its non-Turkish provinces and territories, reverted from the wider pretensions of the Ottomans to the narrower concept of Turkish nationalism. Iran remained a case apart, proud of its long history and racial heritage.

The emergence of Pakistan based on the concept of Muslim nationalism, its proud assertion by Pakistan's political leadership, diplomatic missions and political delegations and the writings of Pakistani and other like-minded-intellectuals on the issue of 'political Islam' played a catalytic role in creating the intellectual and political climate which gave form to the urge for Islamic solidarity through the Organization of Islamic Conference, (although the timing of the OIC's establishment was triggered by the specific event of the arson at the Al Aqsa Mosque). Israel's occupation of Palestine was, it should be noted, a major factor which helped solidify Muslim ranks.

While the struggle for Pakistan achieved a separate independent state, by the very nature of population's distribution, a very large Muslim population was left within the confines of the Indian Union. The Quaid's hope that the minorities left behind in the two states would be treated with fairness and justice was, regrettably, not borne out particularly in the case of India. The recent report by a Commission set up by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, under the Chairmanship of former Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court, Justice Sachar, has found that the economic plight of the Indian Muslims was no better than that of the Hindu scheduled castes or Depressed

classes at the lowest strata of Indian society; that a large majority lived below the poverty line, that they were grossly under represented in all services and professions, the sole exception being the Indian prison system which held a disproportionately large number of Muslims.

As for their intermittent brutalisation, this is what K.L. Gauba, the renowned Indian author, said in his book *Passive Voices*—'From time to time events demonstrate to the Indian Muslims that they are hostages, whose life and prosperity is at the whim and caprice of the majority community.'

The hope still exists that in due course the enlightened section of Indian Society would secure the urgently needed amelioration in the lot of the Muslim minority which continues to look only to the Indian state for a fair and secure deal. However, the possibility must occur to many in Pakistan that they too may have been in the same boat as the Indian Muslim, had partition not occurred. While the presence of, some Muslim majority provinces in an undivided India would have provided some safeguards, even these Muslim majority provinces, it may be recalled, were dominated economically and educationally by non-Muslims including Sindh, Punjab and Bengal.

The above discussion has highlighted some of the many components of the Quaid's vision. These encompassed, inter alia, egalitarian economic and social policies, weighted in the Islamic spirit in favour of the poor and the oppressed, coupled with full protection and respect for minority groups. Externally the Quaid envisaged a relationship of durable peace with India, which would be on a footing of equality and a policy of close interaction with the Islamic world in a spirit of full solidarity.





*Section 9*

*The Jinnah Society:  
Focus on Jinnah's Ideals, Principles  
and Vision*

LIAQUAT H. MERCHANT

## BIRTH OF THE JINNAH SOCIETY

The year 1997 marked the 50th Anniversary of the creation of Pakistan. The film 'Jinnah' produced by Professor Akbar S. Ahmed and directed by Mr Jamil K. Dehlavi was launched in Pakistan in the same year. The film project faced severe criticism from several quarters in Pakistan but it acted as a catalyst for establishing the Jinnah Society. It was also launched in 1997 with the object of propagating the ideals, principles and vision of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a nation building venture.

### JINNAH FILM PROJECT

The Jinnah Society extended undeservedly its help and support to the Jinnah Film Project on the assumption that the film would be good for Pakistan and also serve the purpose of propagation of the ideals, principles and vision of Mr Jinnah. Accordingly, the Jinnah Society provided a platform to mould public opinion, propagate the film and fight its battles both in the public arena and in the Court. The Jinnah Film Project was launched at a function held at the residence of the President of Jinnah Society in 1997 at which the entire cast and crew of the film were present including Mr Christopher Lee who played the role of Jinnah as well as the other cast who played the role of Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, Lord Mountbatten, Lady Mountbatten, Fatima Jinnah and Rutie Jinnah. Like the real Jinnah, Christopher Lee is a dominant figure with a strong magnetic personality who from a young Barrister emerges as

Jinnah the ambassador of Hindu Muslim community in a joint struggle against British imperialism and



*Jinnah Family in Pakistan (from left to right): Liaquat Merchant, Gulshan Chando, Laila Inayatullah, Ali Inayatullah, Akbar Merchant, Reza Chando, Nasrem Merchant, Farza Merchant, Mr and Mrs Lee, Akbar S. Ahmed, and Prof Sharif Al Munkhid*



*Dinner with Christopher Lee, Hashim Raza, Mahmud Haroon, Justice Channa and Jinnah family members*

*Left to right with film project*



*From left to right: Christopher Lee, Sharifuddin Pirzada, Liaquat Merchant, Akbar S. Ahmed and Ameena Sayid*



*Cast of the film 'Jinnah' including Richard Lintern (who played young Jinnah), Indira Varma (who played Rutie Jinnah), Akbar S. Ahmed and some guests*



Yehar S. Ahmed and Indra Varma (extreme right) with guests



Shadi Kanoor with cast and guest



Javed Akhtar and Shashi Kapoor



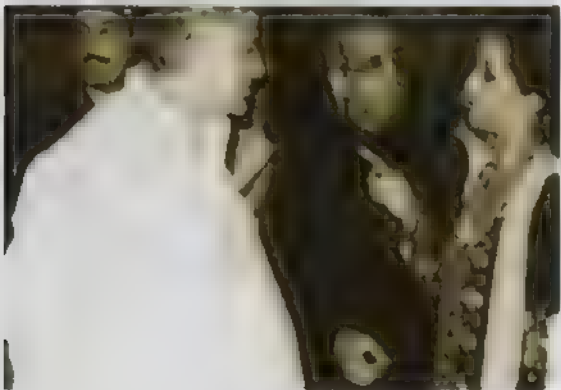
Shashi Kapoor and Mr. Inayatullah



Jinnah with guests at the event



Farooq Capria with Mr and Mrs Guly



Shashi Kapoor with Sabena and Zafar Yaqub

ultimately as Quaid-i-Azam, the undisputed leader of the Muslims of India whom he united into a nation. It was a lifetime of honesty, dedication, personal integrity and principles that made Jinnah into the Quaid-i-Azam.

Speaking at the launch of the Jinnah Film Project Christopher Lee said

This is a unique occasion. First and most important it is the first time that so many members of the Jinnah family have come together to give their

support and encouragement to this film. Secondly, it is unique because it marks the first time that a film will have been made about Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah who certainly was not only one of the most remarkable statesmen of the century but also an extra-ordinary man in every way. The more I read about him and meet people who knew him, the more I realize that he was a man of indomitable will, of total faith, of great vision and

above all of immense integrity. This is the first time that the world in general and the people of Pakistan in particular, will have the opportunity to see this portrait of the founder of this nation, in which the Quaid-i-Azam is shown not merely as a great political figure but as an intensely human being. He has been so misrepresented and maligned over the years in print and on the screen that it is high time that this totally false impression was rectified and that



*Dinner at a hotel near the event at the residence of Farrokh Captain. In the pictures are Naveen and Shafiq Ali Janjoo, Governor Moulana Haider, Naseem Merchant, Spenta Kadamwalla, Jabinda and Saeed Chinoi, Ardeshr Cowasjee, Jamil Dehlani, the cast and other prominent persons.*



is what we are doing in this film, to put the record straight. He was not an aloof, arrogant, cold figure Anything but. He was a man of deep emotions which he only showed in private.

As an actor, I am privileged to portray him on the screen. It is for me a great honour and a great responsibility. All of us connected with this production are determined and dedicated people and we are convinced that we are creating motion picture history. Otherwise we would not be here. To some generations, the Quaid-i-Azam is only a painting or a photograph on the wall as well as a historical figure learnt about at school. We recognize him as the father of Pakistan. We are making a film as accurate as possible about the life of the Quaid and his times and we will continue to do so to the very best of our abilities. This would be a fitting tribute to the memory of a particularly great man.



*Debut of the film, November 1999*

#### LEGAL CHALLENGE TO THE JINNAH FILM

A constitutional petition filed in the High Court of Sindh at Karachi against the Producer, Director and cast of the film was successfully defended by S. Sharifuddin Pirzada and Liaquat Merchant. The High Court upheld that a film was an expression of thought and ideas and was protected on the same basis as freedom of speech and expression, a fundamental right guaranteed under the Constitution of Pakistan. The petition was dismissed and the film went on to completion.

#### PREMIER OF THE FILM 'JINNAH'

Following the launch of the Jinnah film project, events were arranged by The Jinnah Society for the purpose of securing financial support for the film project. The legal hurdle was overcome and the project though in financial crisis went on to completion with the assistance arranged by a group of Pakistani physicians in the US led by Dr Nasim Ashraf. A grand premiere was organized and held by the Jinnah Society at the Governor House, Karachi in May 1999 which was attended by more than 2,500 guests who were invited by the Society and the Governor of Sindh. Awards were given to Professor Akbar S. Ahmed, Mr Jamil Dehlavi, Dr Nasim Ashraf and others. The film hit the headlines in Pakistan's newspapers.



*Hussain Haeron conducting the function*



*Photographs of the premiere of the film 'Jinnah' at the Governor House, Karachi in 1999, showing Jamil K. Dehlavi (Producer and Director), Governor M. Yousaf Hanif, Akbar S. Ahmed (Executive Producer), Liaquat Merchant, Nasim Ashraf, Sprenta Kandaewalla, and Ashraf Waithna*

## THE JINNAH ANTHOLOGY

During the same year (1999), the Jinnah Society launched *The Jinnah Anthology* which was compiled and edited by the President of Jinnah Society, designed by Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture and

published by Oxford University Press, Karachi. This book was sponsored by corporate sector companies and philanthropic minded citizens.

The sale proceeds of this book earned a sum of approximately Rs. 10 million which was assigned

*Group photographs taken at the launching ceremony of The Jinnah Anthology*



*(From left to right): Air Commodore (Retd.) Ata Rubhami, Justice Channa, Akbar S. Ahmed, Sharifuddin Pirzada, Ameena Sayid and Liaquat Merchant (Compiler/Editor of The Jinnah Anthology,*



*(From left to right): Ameena Sayid, Justice Channa, Akbar S. Ahmed, Sharifuddin Pirzada, Liaquat Merchant, and Air Commodore (Retd.) Ata Rubhami*

and transferred to the Society. The successful launch and sale of *The Jinnah Anthology* was the result of the efforts of Mrs Aameena Sayid, Managing Director, Oxford University Press, Mr Akeel Bilgrami, Executive Director, Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture and the members of The Jinnah Society. *The Jinnah Anthology* served to achieve the object of propagation of the ideals, principles and vision of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a nation building venture.

#### M.A. JINNAH CD ROM PROJECT AND WEBSITE

([www.majinnah.com.pk](http://www.majinnah.com.pk))

The Jinnah Society established a M.A. Jinnah CD ROM Project and Website in August 2002. The M.A.



(From left to right): Aameena Sayid, Sharifudman Pirzada, Governor Mohammedman Soomro, Liaquat Merchant (producer of M.A. Jinnah CD), and Prof. Z. S. Saify (Vice Chancellor, University of Karachi,

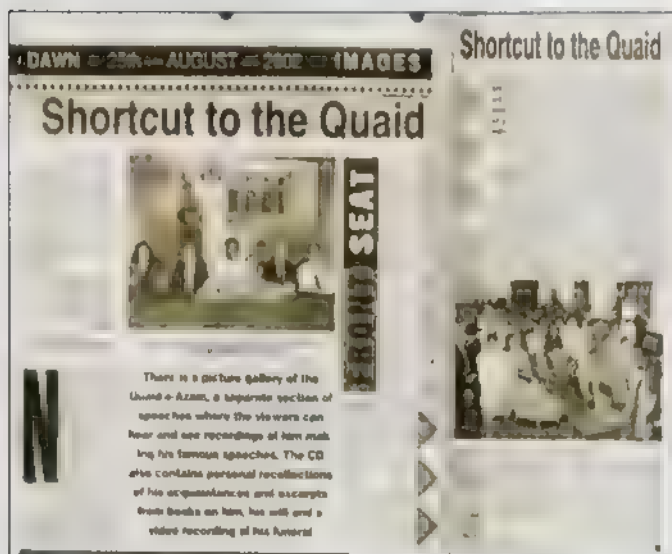
Jinnah CD was compiled and edited by the President of The Jinnah Society and launched at a function at the Governor House, Karachi in August 2002. The CDs are now on sale both within and outside Pakistan and the M.A. Jinnah Website has been established. This Website can be visited at [www.majinnah.com.pk](http://www.majinnah.com.pk). The M.A. Jinnah CD is structured around the *Jinnah Anthology* but with substantially more material on Mr Jinnah including important speeches, articles and photographs. It was priced at Rs. 200/- to achieve a wide circulation among the younger generation both within and outside Pakistan.

#### INTER-SCHOOL DECLAMATION CONTEST

With effect from the year 2000, the Society took over from the Jinnah Foundation the project of organizing and holding the Inter-School Elocution



Judges Sherry Rehman and Justice (Retd.) H. A. Nisar.



Participants with Aameena Sayid, Governor Mohammedman Soomro, Ismail Rasani (Secretary General, Jinnah Foundation), Liaquat Merchant and judges Ali Reza Nisar Memon, Sherry Rehman, and Justice (Retd.) H. A. Nisar.



British Deputy High Commissioner to Pakistan, handing trophy to the winner of the contest



Photograph of the Declamation Contest at Karachi

Declamation Contests in Karachi and the Society organizes and stages this contest on a regular basis. Approximately 30 schools participate in this event. Ten students are selected to speak at the final contest which is normally held at Quaid-i-Azam House Museum (Flag Staff House), Karachi, a property purchased by Mr Jinnah for his own use and where his sister Fatima Jinnah lived until 1964. Prizes of the value of Rs. 100,000 are given to three winning teams at each event. This event is jointly sponsored and organized by The Jinnah Society and Oxford University Press with the financial support from Mr Munawar Ali Fecto and Mr Sahim Issa (London Watch Company).

#### ASSISTANCE TO KHATOON-I-PAKISTAN GIRLS SCHOOL

The Society extended financial assistance to Khatoon-e-Pakistan Girls School for renovation of class-



## Committed leadership for country urged

By the staff

LEADERSHIP is the key to the success of a country, a group of people or an organization. It is the quality of a person which enables him to lead others towards a common goal. A leader is one who influences others to follow him. A leader is one who is able to inspire others to achieve their best. A leader is one who is able to motivate others to work towards a common goal. A leader is one who is able to guide others towards the right path. A leader is one who is able to take responsibility for the actions of his followers. A leader is one who is able to make decisions for the good of the group. A leader is one who is able to communicate effectively with others. A leader is one who is able to build a team. A leader is one who is able to create a vision. A leader is one who is able to implement that vision. A leader is one who is able to achieve the goals of the group. A leader is one who is able to make a difference in the world.

rooms, construction and equipment of a Physics and Chemistry Laboratory.

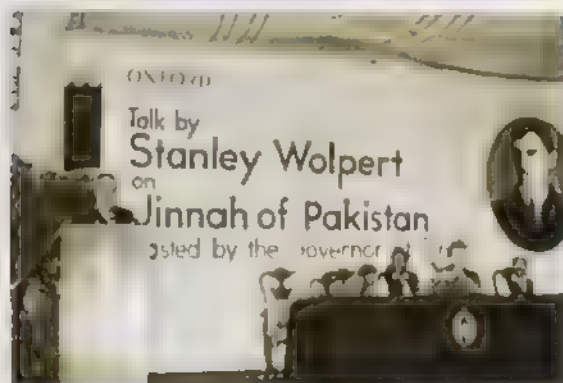
#### ASSISTANCE TO VICTIMS OF FAMINE, DROUGHT AND FLOODS

The Society also granted financial assistance to the victims of famine, drought and floods in Pakistan through a recognized and well established Voluntary Welfare Agency.

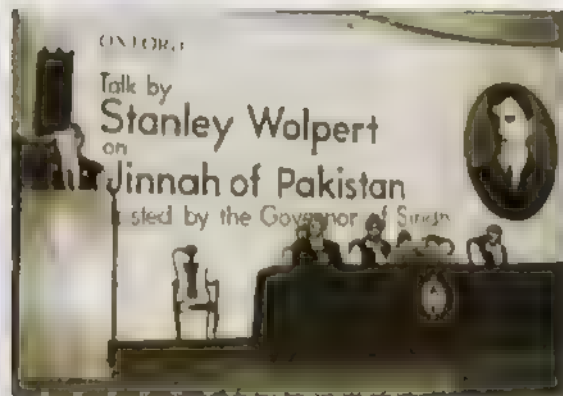


## TALK SHOW BY PROFESSOR STANLEY WOLPERT

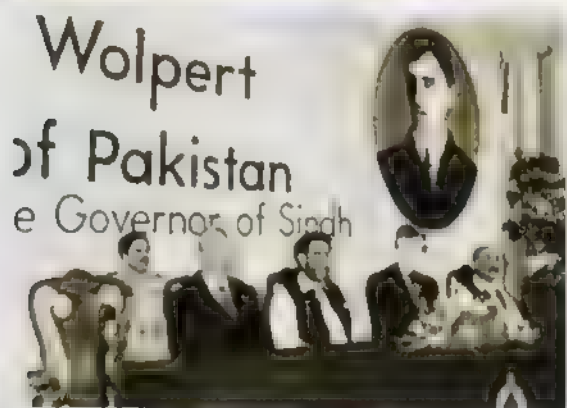
The Jinnah Society and Oxford University Press hosted a talk show by Professor Stanley Wolpert, the famous and celebrated author of the book *Jinnah of Pakistan*, at the Governor House, Karachi in December 2001. This talk show was attended by approximately 1000 guests. The event was widely covered by the press and mentioned below is a comment of Professor Stanley Wolpert conveyed to the President of the Jinnah Society:



A large and distinguished audience at the Talk by Stanley Wolpert on 'Jinnah of Pakistan' at the Governor House, Karachi.



Professor Stanley Wolpert (author of *Jinnah of Pakistan*) with Jinnah Society members. (L to R): A R. Allana, Sabera Iqbal, Zafar Iqbal, Batool Zakir Mahmood, Tyaba Hameed, Muslim Habib, Gulshan Chandoo, Stanley Wolpert, Liaquat Merchant, Hussein Ebrahim, Naseem Merchant, Mumtaz Ebrahim, Laila Inayatullah, Spenta and Darius Kandawalla



Professor Stanley Wolpert, Liaquat Merchant, Governor Soomro, and the Secretary Culture, Sindh



## Quaid felt cheated by British on Kashmir: Wolpert

By R. H. Khan

## QUAID-I-AZAM ALIGARH EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIP/TRUST

This trust was established pursuant to an order passed by the High Court of Sindh at Karachi in 1984. Two Members of The Jinnah Society are trustees of this Trust which has to date granted 4954 scholarships in professional degree courses to poor, needy and deserving students in Pakistan. A total amount of Rs. 25,903,418.30 has been disbursed by way of scholarships while the corpus has been enhanced. The corpus of this Trust comprises of the bequest made by Mr Jinnah in his Will under which he left 1/3rd of his residuary estate to Aligarh Muslim University but the amount bequeathed was ordered to be paid over to the Trust which was established under orders of the High Court of Sind at Karachi which appointed (i) Mr S. Sharifuddin Pirzada, (ii) Justice Z. H. Channa and (iii) Mr Liaquat H. Merchant as trustees. On the demise of Justice Z. H. Channa, the High Court appointed Justice (Retd.) G. H. Malik as trustee.

## CASUALTY DEPARTMENT OF JINNAH POST GRADUATE MEDICAL CENTRE AND EMERGENCY OPERATION THEATRE PROJECT

The Jinnah Society co-sponsored and extended financial and moral support to this project at Karachi's largest public hospital. The Society extended financial assistance of Rs. 1 million to this EOT Project which was initiated by Dr Hassan Aziz, who is a Professor emeritus and former Director General of the Hospital. Dr Hassan Aziz is a member of The Jinnah Society and a Trustee of Jinnah Foundation.

## JINNAH RESOURCE CENTRE

The Jinnah Society has acquired premises for establishing a 'Jinnah Resource Centre' as a database on the life, work and achievements of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah for reference purposes as well as hosting of M.A. Jinnah/Jinnah Society website for information and reference on all related matters.

The establishment of 'Jinnah Resource Centre' envisages a space where information on the life and

Let me congratulate you once again on using your brilliant legal talents to turn your Jinnah Society into a great source of support for so many vital social and educational reforms, which truly perpetuate the memory of Mr Jinnah in the manner closest to his heart and mind

I hope and pray that peace will prevail for Pakistan throughout this troubled year and in the decades ahead, so then your wise President will, indeed, be able, with the help of your splendid Jinnah Society and people like yourself, to bring your Quaid's brilliant vision of its future promise at long last to full fruition

work of M.A. Jinnah would be easily accessible to the general public. At present no such space exists and material on Jinnah is scattered and not always easy to access. Users of the Resource Centre could be quite diverse, the most obvious being students, academics, researchers, media personnel (television, newspapers and radio), and with the current proliferation of the electronic media the Resource Centre would be a useful source of information. The Centre could have an archive with films and copies, manuscripts, speeches etc. The information could be available in digital format as well as hard copy with both rare and recent publications available for research/borrowing. Information on catalogued material could be made available online on The Jinnah Society web page and an e-mail service could be set up to answer queries relating to the centre and specific information requirements. This Project will be completed within two (2) years and will be managed by Mrs Batool Zakir Mahmood, Mrs Ameena Saiyid and Professor Sharif Al Mujahid.

#### THE JINNAH AWARDS (2000–2007)

Another activity of the Society which has generated a good deal of interest is the conferment of a 'Jinnah Award' to a person who has rendered outstanding and meritorious services to Pakistan and its people. The first award was conferred on Mr Abdul Sattar Edhi, the Founder and Chairman of Edhi Welfare Trust whose services to Pakistan and its people have been outstanding. The second and third awards were conferred posthumously on Mr Graham Layton, the Founder of Layton Rehmatullah Benevolent Trust which operates eye hospitals in Pakistan and to Hakim Muhammad Said for establishing the Hamdard Foundation and Hamdard University. The fourth award was conferred on Dr Ruth Pfau, Chairperson, Marie Adelaide Leprosy Centre, Karachi for outstanding services to Pakistan over a period of more than 40 years. The fifth and sixth Jinnah Awards for the years 2004–2005 were conferred on Dr Akhtar Hameed Khan (Orangi Pilot Project) posthumously and on Dr Ishrat Hussain, former Governor, State Bank of Pakistan, at a function held in Karachi which was largely attended. The Jinnah

Awards for 2006 and 2007 are being conferred on Air Marshal (Retd.) M. Asghar Khan, former Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan's Air Force, former head of Pakistan International Airlines and founder Chairman of Tehriq-e-Istiqlal and posthumously on Mr Ahmad Ali Khan, former Editor-in-Chief, *Dawn* for his outstanding services in support of freedom of expression as the editor of *Dawn* over a span of four decades. The Jinnah Award functions normally commence with a multi-media presentation on the life and work of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, followed by an interactive discussion with the audience



*Abdul Sattar Edhi receiving a plaque at the award*



*Jinnah Society members. Standing (l to r): Badruddin Khan, Julees Singha, Feroza Aruri, Ali Raza, Ali Hameed, Ashraf Wajid, Abdul Rehman Allana, Naseem Merchant, Sabana Iqbal, and Farrokh Captain Sattar (l to r): M L Ansari, Governor Sindh Moinuddin H. Aizer, Aram Sattar Edhi (recipient of the first Jinnah Award), Spenta Khandwalla Liaquat Merchant, and Javed Latif*



## Quaid felt cheated by British on Kashmir: Wolpert

By Shafiqul Kabir

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The Jinnah Society co-sponsored and extended financial and moral support to this project at Karachi's largest public hospital. The Society extended financial assistance of Rs. 1 million to this EOT Project which was initiated by Dr Hassan Aziz, who is a Professor emeritus and former Director General of the Hospital. Dr Hassan Aziz is a member of The Jinnah Society and a Trustee of Jinnah Foundation.

## JINNAH RESOURCE CENTRE

The Jinnah Society has acquired premises for establishing a 'Jinnah Resource Centre' as a database on the life, work and achievements of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah for reference purposes as well as hosting of M.A. Jinnah/Jinnah Society website for information and reference on all related matters.

The establishment of 'Jinnah Resource Centre' envisages a space where information on the life and



work of M.A. Jinnah would be easily accessible to the general public. At present no such space exists and material on Jinnah is scattered and not always easy to access. Users of the Resource Centre could be quite diverse, the most obvious being students, academics, researchers, media personnel (television, newspapers and radio), and with the current proliferation of the electronic media the Resource Centre would be a useful source of information. The Centre could have an archive with films and copies, manuscripts, speeches etc. The information could be available in digital format as well as hard copy with both rare and recent publications available for research/borrowing. Information on catalogued material could be made available online on The Jinnah Society web page and an e-mail service could be set up to answer queries relating to the centre and specific information requirements. This Project will be completed within two (2) years and will be managed by Mrs Batool Zakur Mahmood, Mrs Ameena Saiyid and Professor Sharif Al Mujahid.

#### THE JINNAH AWARDS (2000–2007)

Another activity of the Society which has generated a good deal of interest is the conferment of a 'Jinnah Award' to a person who has rendered outstanding and meritorious services to Pakistan and its people. The first award was conferred on Mr Abdul Sattar Edhi, the Founder and Chairman of Edhi Welfare Trust whose services to Pakistan and its people have been outstanding. The second and third awards were conferred posthumously on Mr Graham Layton, the Founder of Layton Rehmatullah Benevolent Trust which operates eye hospitals in Pakistan and to Hakim Muhammad Said for establishing the Hamdard Foundation and Hamdard University. The fourth award was conferred on Dr Ruth Pfau, Chairperson, Marie Adelaide Leprosy Centre, Karachi for outstanding services to Pakistan over a period of more than 40 years. The fifth and sixth Jinnah Awards for the years 2004–2005 were conferred on Dr Akhtar Hameed Khan (Orangi Pilot Project) posthumously and on Dr Ishtat Hussain, former Governor, State Bank of Pakistan, at a function held in Karachi which was largely attended. The Jinnah

Awards for 2006 and 2007 are being conferred on Air Marshal (Retd.) M. Asghar Khan, former Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan's Air Force, former head of Pakistan International Airlines and founder Chairman of Tehriq-e-Istiqlal and posthumously on Mr Ahmad Ali Khan, former Editor-in-Chief, *Dawn* for his outstanding services in support of freedom of expression as the editor of *Dawn* over a span of four decades. The Jinnah Award functions normally commence with a multi-media presentation on the life and work of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, followed by an interactive discussion with the audience



*Edhi Sattar receiving the first Jinnah Award*



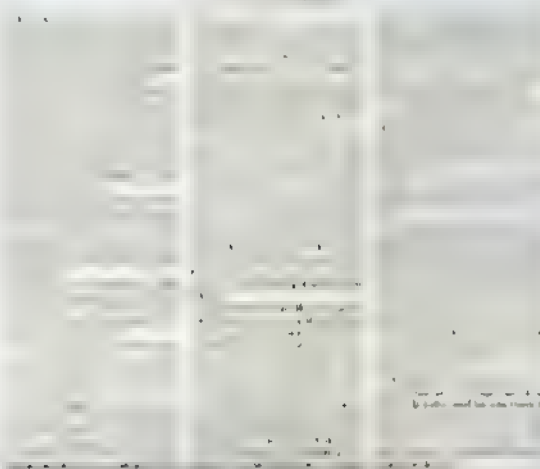
*Jinnah Society members. Standing (l to r): Badruddin Khan, Jinnah Singha, Feroza Asiri, Ali Reza, Ali Hashmi, Ashraf Wadhwa, Abdul Rehman Allana, Naseem Merchant, Sabena Iqbal, and Farooq. Sitting (l to r): M I. Ansari, Governor Sindh Moinuddin Haq, Abdul Sattar Edhi (recipient of the first Jinnah Award), Spent: Kandmal, Laouat Merchant, and Javed Latif*

# DAWN



## Jinnah Society's award for Edhi

By Hafiz Saif-ur-Rehman



Mrs Sadia Rashid, President of the Hamdard Foundation Pakistan, receiving the Jinnah Award on behalf of her late father Hakim Mohammed Said



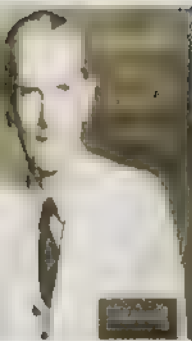
Dr Ruth Pfau, Chairperson, Marie Adelaide Leprosy Centre Karachi with Liaquat Merchant, Dr Nasim Ashraf (Minister for State), and Dr Hafeez Sheikh (Federal Minister for Investment and Privatisation),



Khan Zafar Hassan, Honorary Chairman, LRBT, receiving the Jinnah Award on behalf of the late Graham Layton, Founder Chairman LRBT



Group photograph of the Executive Committee members of the Jinnah Society



# In the words of Jinnah

KNOWLEDGE is the only thing that I did have when I came to this world. It is the only thing that I have brought with me from the Quaid's founding of the nation. It is the only thing that I have brought with me from the Quaid's founding of the nation. It is the only thing that I have brought with me from the Quaid's founding of the nation.

The Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Jinnah, held the honor of being the first to bring the Quaid's founding of the nation to the attention of the people. He was the first to bring the Quaid's founding of the nation to the attention of the people. He was the first to bring the Quaid's founding of the nation to the attention of the people.

The book is a collection of the Quaid's words, which are the most important and the most valuable. It is a book that is a must-read for every citizen of Pakistan. It is a book that is a must-read for every citizen of Pakistan. It is a book that is a must-read for every citizen of Pakistan.

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first institution to recognize the need of rendering services in the field of human development as a nation building venture

The Trustees of Jinnah Foundation have always believed that education, health and social services are the three most important building blocks of a nation and, therefore, concentrated only on these three aspects but were subject at all times to limitation on financial resources. The Trustees have neither sought nor received any financial assistance from the Government of Pakistan or the Government of Sindh.

Jinnah Foundation has established four projects in Bhittai Colony, Korangi Crossing, Karachi on Plot Nos. 11, 12, 13 and 14, Sector 'A' which are used for schools which have a current strength of 1000 students from KG to Matriculation. The junior and senior schools are both equipped with fully furnished (i) Class-rooms, (ii) Computer Divisions, (iii) Libraries and (iv) Physics and Chemistry Laboratories and (v) Home Economics Division. There are 63 teachers, three Headmistresses and one Administrator who look after the Primary and Secondary Schools located in buildings which are adjacent to each other. The fourth project to be made operational in March 2009 will increase the number of students to 1300

Jinnah Foundation also operates a Medical Centre which has a fully equipped (i) Medical Clinic, (ii) Pathological Laboratory, (iii) Dental Clinic and (iv) Inoculation Clinic. The Medical Centre is dedicated primarily to the students of the School and their families. The other residents of Bhittai Colony are also entitled to avail of the medical facilities. A two bed Emergency Clinic and an Eye Clinic will also be established and made operational by June 2009

The educational and medical facilities are provided for the benefit of the poor, needy and deserving sections of the society. Accordingly the fees and the charges at the School and Medical Centre are minimal in nature as Jinnah Foundation under its constitutive document is committed to operate on a 'no profit-no loss' basis. However, the cost of educational and medical services which are provided are far in excess of the minimal charges which are received by the Foundation from students and patients by way of fees

The President of The Jinnah Society and Professor Sharif Al Mujahid brought out a handy booklet, *Quotes from the Quaid* which was launched in 2007. This 'little' book proved to be immensely popular and achieved record sales in Pakistan. Reproduced below is the Foreword by Professor Stanley Wolpert and an interesting news item in the *Dawn* newspaper.

## JINNAH FOUNDATION

Jinnah Foundation Memorial Trust (Jinnah Foundation) was established and registered as a charitable trust in 1989 with the main object of human development in the field of primary education and health. This Trust was dedicated to the memory of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a lasting tribute and in acknowledgement of the monumental role played by the Quaid in the struggle for the creation of Pakistan.

Jinnah Foundation is the first institution dedicated to the memory of the Founder of Pakistan and the

and charges. Jinnah Foundation is thus faced with a continuously increasing deficit each year which is met from donations from philanthropic minded citizens and contributions made by the Trustees.

The third building project on Plot No.12, Bhattai Colony, Korangi Crossing, Karachi which commenced functioning in 2006 also has Community Welfare Centre on the Ground floor which is intended to be used for programmes relating to (i) Promotion of Literacy, (ii) Population Planning, (iii) Health and Hygiene, (iv) General Knowledge, (v) Prevention of Drug Abuse and (vi) Promotion of Civic and General Awareness among the citizens of Pakistan living in the area as well as a Community Welfare Centre which is operated by SAARC Women's Association.

More than 25% of the students at Jinnah Foundation cannot even afford to pay the minimal schools fees for a variety of reasons, including (i) death of the earning parents, (ii) disability of such parents and (iii) unemployment of such parents. The Trustees endeavour to remedy this situation by arranging payment of fees of these students through the Students Fees Adoption Scheme to which contributions are sought and received from donors and well-wishers. The Students Fees Adoption Scheme caters not only to those students who cannot pay even the minimal fees at the Jinnah Foundation School but also those students who face temporary financial difficulties and are in need of short term financial support.

#### TRUSTEES OF JINNAH FOUNDATION

The trustees of Jinnah Foundation including the founder trustees are as under:

M. I. Ansari (*Chairman*)  
Liaquat H. Merchant (*Managing Trustee*)  
Hussain R. Ebrahim (*Trustee/Hon. Secretary General*)  
Mrs Faressa Jafery Ahsan  
Mrs Naseem Merchant  
Akeel Bilgrami  
Hussain Moosa Lawai  
Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada  
Mohammad Ali Sayeed  
Dr Hassan Aziz  
Dr A. Rashid Khan (UK)

Dr Shuja S. Kirmani (Australia)

Dr Z. S. Saify

S. Ali Reza

Sirajuddin A. Cassim

Saleem Isa

Zakir K.C. Ibrahim

Mohammed Ehsan Ibrahim

#### DECEASED FOUNDER TRUSTEES:

Ismail Rasani (*Secretary General*)

Justice (Retd) Z. A. Channa

Dr Salahuddin Mohammad

*The Jinnah Anthology* which was brought out in 1999 re-emphasizes Jinnah's principles and vision particularly those relating to democracy, equality, justice, fair play and supremacy of the rule of law, integrity, honesty, tolerance and the rights of women and minorities. It was intended to influence and inspire citizens of Pakistan and lead to Jinnah becoming once again a rallying figure for all Pakistanis irrespective of regional distinction and place of residence, and thus contribute to augmenting patriotism, national unity and solidarity among Pakistanis.

#### SUPPORT TO JINNAH RELATED INSTITUTIONS

'Khatoon-e-Pakistan Education and Welfare Board' and 'Khatoon-e-Pakistan Girls School'

The Jinnah Society is committed to extending support in the development and management of all Jinnah related institutions and its nominees are on the Board of Governors of (i) Khatoon-e-Pakistan Education and Welfare Board and (ii) Khatoon-e-Pakistan Girls School both of which were established by Fatima Jinnah, the youngest sister of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Efforts by Members of The Jinnah Society to seek a denationalization of the Girls School has not borne fruit due to continued Government opposition while several other educational institutions have been denationalized and handed over to private ownership and management.



## Quaid-i-Azam House Museum

The Jinnah Society also submitted its proposal to finance and manage an audio visual centre and a public library at the former residence of Mr Jinnah called 'Flag Staff House' in Karachi. While the Government has made some efforts to convert the building into a 'Quaid-i-Azam House Museum', it has not succeeded in establishing an audio visual centre to show films on the Pakistan Movement and no public library befitting the stature and dignity of Mr Jinnah has been set up in the building. The Government of Pakistan has not yet acceded to the offer of The Jinnah Society to establish an audio visual centre and public library, but the offer remains valid

## FUTURE ACTIVITIES

The future activities of Jinnah Society include the following:

- i. Establishing a 'Jinnah Chair' at the Karachi University as well as at the universities at Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar and Quetta.
- ii. Grant of scholarships on merit to needy and deserving students for graduate and post-graduate degree courses in Pakistan.
- iii. Grant of one or more Jinnah scholarships to outstanding Pakistani students for post-graduate studies at Oxford and Cambridge universities, UK.
- iv. Establishing or upgrading the library at the Sindh Madressah, Karachi
- v. Continue publishing material on Mr Jinnah with a view to propagating his ideals, principles and vision in the form of books and DVD
- vi. Make The Jinnah Resource Centre operational within two years.
- vii. Continue the work of the Jinnah Foundation with vigour and determination in the field of human development.

The Jinnah Society has completed a decade of existence but has not sought any donations or financial assistance from the Government, Corporate

Sector or citizens of Pakistan and has been carrying on its work and activities from the income generated from the sale proceeds of its publications and donations by its members.

The scope for future activities is endless and the Members have the necessary enthusiasm and dedication to work for the achievement of the objects of the Society. It can only be hoped that the financial constraints will not constitute an impediment to its continued work and future activities.

The Members of the Jinnah Society are drawn from various walks of life and include businessmen, industrialists, bankers, lawyers, doctors, authors, executives, journalists, judges and officers of the armed forces, all of whom have joined hands to propagate the ideals, principles and vision of Mr Jinnah as a nation building venture. The members include the following:

## MEMBERS OF THE JINNAH SOCIETY

Professor Stanley A. Wolpert (*Patron Member*)

Mr & Mrs S. Ali Raza

Mr & Mrs Tariq Rafi

Mr & Mrs J.S.P. Singha

Mr M. J. Asad

Mr & Mrs Darius Kandawalla

Mr & Mrs Aamer Aziz Saiyid

Mr & Mrs Tayyeb Afzal

Mr Hussain Haroon

Mr & Mrs Zafar A. Tapal

Mr & Mrs Khaleeq Kayani

Mr & Mrs Shafqat Shah Jamote

Mr & Mrs Siraj Cassim

Mr & Mrs M. I. Ansari

Mr & Mrs Mujeeb Inayatullah

Mr & Mrs Ali Hasnam

Mr & Mrs Muslim Habib

Mr & Mrs Abdul Rehman Allana

Mr & Mrs Hussein R. Ebrahim

Mr Farrokh K. Captain

Mr & Mrs Hasan Madani

Mr & Mrs Badr-ud-din Khan

Mr & Mrs Sohail P. Ahmed

Mr & Mrs M. I. Akber

Ms Khurshid Hyder

Mr & Mrs Zakir Mahmood  
Lt. General (Retd.) & Mrs Ali Kuli Khan  
Mrs Nargis Latif  
Mr Imtiaz Bashir & Mrs Nadira Panjwani  
Dr & Mrs Hasan Aziz  
Justice (Retd.) & Mrs G. H. Malik  
Mr & Mrs Byram R. Avari  
Mr & Mrs Anwar H. Rammal  
Mr & Mrs Reza Chandoo  
Mr Shaharyar M. Khan  
Mr & Mrs Liaquat H. Merchant  
Professor Sharif Al Mujahid  
Mr & Mrs Ashraf M. Wathra  
Justice (Retd.) Jawaid Iqbal  
Mr & Mrs Ikram-ul-Majeed Sehgal

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*The author is President of The Jinnah Society, Managing Trustee of the  
Jinnah Foundation and Executive Trustee of Quaid-i-Azam Aligarh  
Education Trust*

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## Section 10

# *The Quaid's Will*

Little Gibbs Rd  
Malabar Hill  
Bombay  
30 May 1939

- (1) This is my last Will and Testament, all other Wills & Testaments of mine stand cancelled.
- (2) I appoint my sister, Fatima Jinnah, Mr Mohammedali Chaiwalla, Solicitor Bombay and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan of Delhi as my executrix and executors and also my trustees
- (3) All shares, stocks & securities and current accounts now standing in the name of my sister, Fatima Jinnah, are her absolute property. I have given them all to her by way of gifts during my life time and I confirm the same, and she can dispose of them in any manner she pleases as her absolute property.
- (4) I now hereby bequeath to her my house and all that land with appurtenances, outhouses etc situated at Mount Pleasant Rd, Malabar Hill, Bombay, including all the furniture, plates, silver & Motor Cars in its entirety as it stands absolutely and she can dispose of it in any manner she pleases by will, deed or otherwise
- (5) I also direct my executors to pay her during her lifetime Rs 2000/- two thousand per month (for her maintenance and other requirements for her)
- (6) I direct my executors to pay per month Rs 100/- one hundred to my sister, Rehemat Cassimbhoy Jamal, during her lifetime.
- (7) I direct my executors to pay per month Rs 100/- one hundred to my sister, Mariam Abdenbhoy Peerbhoy, during her lifetime.
- (8) I direct my executors to pay per month Rs 100/- one hundred to my sister, Shereen, during her lifetime.
- (9) I direct my executors to pay per month Rs 100/- one hundred to my brother, Ahmed, during his lifetime.
- (10) I direct my executors to set apart Rs 200,000/- (two lacs) or (two hundred thousand) which will at 6% bring an income of Rs 1000/- one thousand and pay the income thereof whatever it be to my daughter every month for her

life or during her lifetime and after her death the corpus of two lacs so set apart to be divided equally between her children, males or females, in default of issue the corpus to fall into my residuary estate.

- (11) I direct my executors to pay the following by way of gifts to the institutions mentioned.
- (A) I bequeath Rs 25,000/- Twenty-five thousand to the Anjumane-Islam School, Bombay, situated at Hornby Rd opposite Boribunder Station and next to The Times of India Buildings.
  - (B) I bequeath Rs 50,000/- Fifty thousand to the University of Bombay
  - (C) I bequeath Rs 25,000/- Twenty-five thousand to the Arabic College, Delhi.
- (12) Subject to above, all my residuary estate including the corpus that may fall after the lapse of life interests or otherwise to be divided into three parts—and I bequeath One Part to Aligarh University, One Part to Islamia College, Peshawar, and One Part to Sind Madressa of Karachi.

Sd/ M.A. Jinnah  
Attesting witnesses  
Codicil to the Will

Legislative Assembly, 25 October 1940

This is my codicil to the Will I have an account with the National Bank of India, Bombay as account No. 2 and also I hold (500) Five hundred shares of the Reserve Bank of India now in the possession of the Bank standing in my name but purchased out of the money in account No. 2.

This account & all moneys deposited & invested were given to me personally by various public spirited donors to use them & do what I liked with them for the uplift of the Muslims I therefore have full & absolute power to dispose of them in any way I may consider proper. I also have received a donation of One lac to use it for the purpose of establishing Muslim League press & paper in such manner as I may consider proper.

I, now having full power of disposition, bequeath the same to my executors and they are to use the capital &/or interest thereof in any way they may consider proper relating to this account.

Besides this amount and 500 shares of the Reserve Bank I have other accounts of mine own in the National Bank of India & also in the Imperial Bank at Bombay & New Delhi but those & all other accounts abroad with any Bank or Banks are my own absolute property and will be governed by will of mine that I have already made.

sd/- M.A. Jinnah  
25/10/40.





## Section 11

# *The Dawn Trust*

On Stamp of Rs 1177 8 - (Rupees One Thousand One Hundred and Seventy-seven and Annas Eight Only)

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME I, MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, Muslim, at present residing at 10-Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi SEND GREETINGS

WHEREAS the Muslim community in India being backward in education and other social matters and public life, certain Muslim philanthropists of India decided to provide the Muslim Public with good newspapers by dissemination of news and ventilation of opinion on all matters of public interest to them.

AND WHEREAS in pursuance of the said desire several Muslim Philanthropists contribute large sums for starting newspapers with the above objects AND WHEREAS the amount of such contributions in my hands upto date comes to Rs 1,57,000/- which I hold in trust for the purpose of starting such newspapers in English and Urdu as I may deem fit to provide the Muslim public of India with good newspapers by dissemination of news and by ventilation of educated public opinion on all matters i.e. educational, social or otherwise, affecting them

AND WHEREAS I have out of the said funds purchased printing machinery, stock of paper and other machines and tools required for running newspapers and am running two daily Muslim newspapers one known as 'Dawn' in English language and the other known as 'Manshoor' in Urdu language

AND WHEREAS the said papers are providing the Muslim public with all news and ventilating the opinion upon all matters affecting the Muslim public and spreading the educated public opinion amongst them.

AND WHEREAS I am now possessed of the printing press, machinery and other assets belonging to the said newspapers 'Dawn' and 'Manshoor' and a sum of Rs 22,450/ (Rupees twenty-two thousand four hundred and fifty) in trust of the Muslim public of India.

AND WHEREAS I am now desirous of making a formal declaration of trust in respect of the said machinery and assets of the said newspapers 'Dawn' and 'Manshoor' including good will of them and of the moneys held by me in trust as aforesaid

NOW KNOWN AND THESE PRESENTS WITNESS and I do hereby Declare that the printing press, plants, machinery, stock of paper and other outstandings and assets of the said two papers 'Dawn' and 'Manshoor' of Delhi and the Sum of Rs 22,450/- (Rupees twenty-two thousand four hundred and fifty) now with me are held by me upon Trusts for the purpose of providing the Muslim public with good newspapers by dissemination of news and giving them educated Muslim opinion on all matters of public interest and I hereby further declare that they are Waqf property and I have no proprietary interests therein and I hereby further declare that I am the Sole 'Mutavalli' (Trustee) of the said funds and assets with absolute power of management thereof and the income and profits derived from the same are utilised and shall hereafter be applied in perpetuity to the following charitable purposes

- (a) For the maintenance of the said newspapers in an efficient condition and manner and also for the development and improvement of the said newspapers
- (b) For providing a well equipped and modern Press for the said newspapers
- (c) For establishing other organs and press and News Agencies in other parts of India for providing organs of educated public opinion.
- (d) For giving education to suitable young men of Muslim faith in the art of Newspaper Work, journalism and cartoons.
- (e) For purchasing immoveable property for housing the said newspapers, and
- (f) Generally for such objects of General public utility as the trustee or trustees for the time being may think fit for the benefit of the Muslim community of India.

AND THESE PRESENTS FURTHER WITNESS that I will have power to nominate my successor or successors and he or they so nominated will be the Mutavalli or Muttavallis in my place and stead and I reserve the power to change the said nominees or successors and make fresh appointment or appointments, and neither I nor the Muttavalli or Mutavallis so nominated shall have power to sell, mortgage or in any other way transfer the same except as may be necessary for the purpose of the said newspapers and all moneys belonging to the said papers and funds in the hands of the Muttavalli shall be deposited in banks and utilised for the purpose of the said papers and for the objects mentioned above.

The Trustee or Trustees shall have power to appoint any agent or agents by giving him or them special or general power of attorney.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I the said Mohammad Ali Jinnah have hereunto set my hand and seal at Delhi aforesaid this 18th day of November One thousand nine hundred and Forty Six.

SIGNED SEALED & DELIVERED)

Sd/- M.A. Jinnah,  
by the within named) 18.1 1.46.  
MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH)  
in the presence of)

Sd/- Wahiduddin Ahmad,  
Advocate

Sd/- Mahmood Hasan,  
General Manager,  
Dawn & Manshoor

Presented by Mr Mohd. Ali Jinnah, M.L.A. of No 10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, at his above mentioned residence as a Special Case by permission of the Registrar Delhi, this 19th day of November, 1946 between the hours of 3 & 4 p.m.

Sd/- M.A. Jinnah

Sd/- Aziz Ahmed Khan,  
Sub-Registrar, Delhi.

Execution admitted by the said Mr Mohd. Ali Jinnah who is known to me personally, corrections are initialled.

Sd/- M.A. Jinnah  
Seal of the Sub-Registrar of  
Delhi. Sd/- Aziz Ahmad  
Sub-Registrar  
Delhi.

Registered as No 639 in book No 4, volume No.280 on pages 232 to 242 this 25 days of November 1946.

Sd/- Aziz Ahmad  
Sub Registrar  
Delhi.



*Inspecting the guard of honour*





## Section 12

# Judgments

**Portion from the Judgment of Justice Abdul Kadir Sheikh of the High Court of Sind**

**Reported in PLD 1970, Karachi, Page 450**

I cannot part with this judgment without making certain observations in respect of a serious controversy that arose in this case as to the secular faith of the Founder of our Nation, the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. This controversy was wholly unnecessary, in fact, it was admitted so at the final stage of the arguments; I only wish this should have been realized earlier. However, since evidence on this question has been led from all possible quarters, it would only be appropriate to record a finding thereon, to place on record the faith of the Quaid-i-Azam, so that this unhappy controversy must be put to an end, as far as possible. The controversy arose because the petitioner Shirinbai wished to prove that her sister Mohitarna Fatima Jinnah was a Shia, and she, therefore, was entitled to the whole of her estate. To prove this, she produced Mr M.A.H. Ispahani as her witness. M.A.H. Ispahani, instead of speaking of the deceased Mohitarna Fatima Jinnah, straightaway talked about the privilege of his association with Quaid-i-Azam since the age of 17/18 years, when he was an undergraduate at the Cambridge University. As to the sect of the Quaid-i-Azam, this is what he said

I did not put any questions to him about his sect, but he happened to volunteer and state these facts to me. In 1890, the Quaid-i-Azam returned from England after being called to the Bar, and after considering the question of continuing to belong to

the Agha Khani Ismail sect, decided to leave it, and to adopt the Asna Ashari faith. He informed me that he subsequently induced the other members of his family to do the same

As against this, several witnesses examined by the objectors stated that from their close association with the Quaid-i-Azam, they got the clear impression that he did not like to be associated with any particular sect. Syed Sharifuddin, the Attorney-General of Pakistan, who spoke of the close association with the Quaid-i-Azam as his Honorary Secretary from 1941 to 1944, and whose evidence has gone unchallenged on record, referred to certain personal conversations with the Quaid and also produced several documents which clearly prove that the Quaid-i-Azam was free from any sectarian strings. In the speech delivered at the concluding Session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation Conference in Lahore on 19 March 1944, he is said to have declared, amid cheers, that Islam did not recognize any kind of distinction of various classification of castes, and the Prophet (PBUH) was able to level down all castes and create a national unity among Arabs in Arabia. In this connection, extract from Volume II of *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*, by Jamuluddin Ahmed, was produced in which the Quaid-i-Azam is said to have added further:

Our bedrock and sheet-anchor is Islam. There is no question even of Shias and Sunnis. We are one and we must move as one nation, and then alone we shall be able to retain Pakistan

At the time of Census of Population in 1941, Quaid-i-Azam is said to have issued instructions to the Muslims of undivided India which appear at page

8 of *The Light* dated 1 February 1941. The extract produced as Exh. 11/13 is to the following effect:

I wish to emphasize particularly the following question: Question No.3: Race, Tribe, or Caste. The answer by every Muslim should be that he is a Muslim.

In the month of January 1948, at the meeting held in the compound of this High Court Building presided over by Mr Justice Hasanally G. Agha, the Quaid-i-Azam made a speech and spoke of the unity of Muslims as one nation. An extract from the cutting from the *Dawn* of 26 January 1948, Exh. 11/8, may be reproduced.

The Quaid-i-Azam asked the Muslims to banish sectionalism from their ranks. 'I want the Muslims to get rid of the disease of provincialism', he said. The Quaid-i-Azam added that it was a 'curse of the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent' that they thought in terms of Sindhi, Punjabi, Pathan, and Delhi Muslims. Really undesirable—What was still worse was that some of the Muslims who had embraced Islam still retained the legacy of the caste system in their social fabric. By saying this he did not wish to hurt the sentiments of the non-Muslim brethren, but only to point out the existence of un-Islamic ways among Muslims

He said that it was really undesirable that there should be community distinctions among Muslims like Khojas, Bohras, and Memons. He went on to emphasize:

A nation can never progress unless it marches in one formation. We are all Muslims and all Pakistanis, and citizens of the State serve, sacrifice, and die for the State to make it a glorious and sovereign State in the world

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada stated that the Quaid-i-Azam personally told him of an incident with the workers of the Muslim League at Meerut. He said that he was asked a question whether he was a Shia or a Sunni, to which he put a cross question: 'What was the Prophet?' To this the questioner's reply was that he was neither, and the Quaid-i-Azam said that his reply was that he followed the Prophet (PBUH), and that he was a Mussalman.

Yet another incident narrated by Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada was that the Quaid-i-Azam during the same

conversation told him about a Hindu who had embraced Islam and who, on being asked as to what was he, replied that he was a Muslim. On again being asked whether he was a Shia or a Sunni, the reply he gave was that he had given up the caste system and embraced Islam. The Quaid-i-Azam said of this convert that he was a true Mussalman. The clear position that emerges from the record before me is that the Quaid-i-Azam was, as he always declared himself to be, a true Mussalman, free from any sectarian feelings, sentiment and faith; his ideal was the Holy Prophet (PBUH); and the Quran, according to him, was a complete code of every aspect of the life of a Mussalman. This was in the fitness of things and circumstances, as it had to be in the role that the Quaid-i-Azam was destined to play, and did in fact play, in the unchallenged position that he acquired for himself as the leader of the Mussalmans of undivided India, and in the fight for obtaining a separate and independent homeland for the Muslims of this part of the world; not only this, but in the subsequent events that took place, to the marvel of the world leaders the establishment of Pakistan as an independent State the very idea of which, at the time when conceived, was considered to be impossible of achievement. This was possible, among other reasons, on account of the faith of the Quaid-i-Azam that he was Mussalman first and the last, and that following the Holy Prophet (PBUH), he was neither a Sunni nor a Shia.

**Portion from the Judgment of Justice Abdul Hayee Kureshi and Justice Abdul Razak A. Thahim of the High Court of Sindh at Karachi**

**Reported in PLD 1985, Karachi, Page 365**

Now it is well established by a long line of authorities both in pre-Independence and subsequent decisions that the members of each sect are to be governed by the sectarian law applicable to them. The earlier decision on which I could lay my hands in this regard is a case of 1841, viz., *Rajah Deedar Hussain v. Rane Zuhoor-Oon-Nissa*, 13 Moor's L A 441. In this case, their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were considering

the provisions of Regulation XI of 1873 which had a parallel provision providing for the succession and inheritance in the case of Mohammedans to be governed by Mohammedan Law. It was held in that case that according to the true construction of this Regulation, in absence of any judicial decision or established practice limiting or controlling its meaning, the Mohammedan Law of succession applicable to each sect ought to prevail as to litigants of that sect.

It cannot be overlooked that, in the first 150 years of the history of Islam, sects were unknown. In fact, the four Schools of Law, viz., Hanafi, Maliki, Shafai, and Hanbali, were founded in the second century Hijra. Some books which propounded Sunni beliefs were composed in the 4th and 5th century Hijra. The position, therefore, is crystallized that the formation or division of the Muslim populace in the world among several sects took place long after the revelation and death of the Prophet (PBUH). In such circumstances, we have found ourselves unable to hold that every Mussalman must either be a Shia or a Sunni. In any case, both the deceased in this case, and her brother, the Quaid-i-Azam, are shown to have expressed themselves by stating that they were neither Sunnis nor Shias, but pure and simple Muslims.

This point was also taken up in the case of *Shirinbai v. Mohammad Ali and others*, which case was for grant of Succession Certificate in favour of Shirinbai in relation to the assets of Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah. This case, as stated above, is Miscellaneous Application No.11/1968, decided on 2-3-1970 by Mr Justice Abdul Kadir Shaikh (as he then was), and is reported in PLD 1970 Kar. 450. The learned Judge in that case had referred to several sayings of the Quaid-i-Azam, which have been reproduced at page 455 of the report, and the conclusions, which may best be reproduced in the words of Mr Justice Abdul Kadir Shaikh. It reads as follows:

The clear position that emerges from the record before me is that the Quaid-i-Azam was, as he always declared himself to be, a true Mussalman, free from any sectarian feelings, sentiment, and faith; his ideal was the Holy Prophet; and the Quran, according to him, was a complete code of every aspect of life of a Mussalman. This was, in the fitness of things and circumstances, as it had to be in the role that

the Quaid-i-Azam was destined to play, and did in fact play, in the unchallenged position that he acquired for himself as the leader of the Mussalmans of undivided India, and in the fight for obtaining a separate and independent homeland for the Muslims of this part of the world; not only this, but in the subsequent events that took place, to the marvel of the world leaders—the establishment of Pakistan as an independent State—the very idea of which, at the time when conceived, was considered to be impossible of achievement. This was possible, among other reasons, on account of the faith of the Quaid-i-Azam that he was Mussalman first and last, and that following the Holy Prophet, he was neither a Sunni nor a Shia

It would thus appear that it is not necessary that a Mussalman must either be a Sunni or a Shia, and it may well be that he is free from all sectarian feelings, sentiment, and faith. This is more true in a case where a Mussalman follows the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet (PBUH), who have given a complete code to the Mussalmans in every aspect of life. To that extent, we are of the view that, while considering the question of sectarian belief of Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, this point too has to be considered, whether, if she was not a Sunni or Shia, was she not a Muslim, and, if she was, does the Quran not provide for distribution of her assets. To that extent, we are clearly of the view that, if it is not established that she was a Sunni or Shia, then her estate has to be distributed in accordance with the pure Muslim Law, as is stated in the Quran itself.





## Section 13

# Obituary from *The Times* (London)

'Mr Jinnah was something more than Quaid-i-Azam, Supreme head of the State, to the people who followed him; he was more even than the architect of the Islamic nation he personally called into being. He commanded their imagination as well as their confidence. In the face of difficulties which might have overwhelmed him, it was given to him to fulfil the hope foreshadowed in the inspired vision of the great Iqbal by creating for the Muslims of India a homeland where the old glory of Islam could grow afresh into a modern state, worthy of its place in the community of nations. Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr Jinnah. He was a legend even in his lifetime.'

Editorial, *The Times* (London),  
13 September 1948







## Section 14

# Chronology of the Quaid's Life

- 25 December 1876 Born in Karachi
- 1883 Admitted to the Sindh Madrasahul Islam
- 30 January 1892 Sails for England
- 1895 Called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn, London, UK
- 1897 Enrols as Advocate (OS) at the Bombay High Court
- 4 May–3 November 1900 Acted as Third Presidency Magistrate
- 10 March 1904 Elected Member, Bombay Municipal Corporation. Resigns March 1905
- December 1904 Attends a session of the Indian National Congress, in Bombay, for the first time
- December 1906 Elected as a delegate of the Congress party. His first public speech at a Congress session supporting the resolution on 'Validation of *Wakf alal-aulad*' on 27 December
- 8 January 1907 Elected Vice-President, Indian Muslim Association, Calcutta
- 2 August 1909 Moves resolution calling on British rulers to consult Muslim leaders while creating Muslim constituencies, in a public meeting of Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam, Bombay
- 4 January 1910 Elected to the Imperial Legislative Council
- 25 February 1910 Clashes with the Viceroy, Lord Minto, over South African cruelty to Indian labourers, during a session of the Imperial Legislative Council
- 17 March 1911 Introduces *Wakf alal-aulad* Validation Bill
- 19 March 1912 Supports G.K. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill
- 31 December 1912 Calls on the AIML to confer with Congress to negotiate a Hindu-Muslim settlement
- 10 October 1913 Enrols as a member of the AIML
- 14 May 1914 Nominated chief spokesman of the Congress delegation to Secretary of State for India, London
- 11 November 1915 Dispels rumours of merging AIML with the Indian National Congress as baseless
- 7–12 August 1916 Defends Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the District Magistrate's Court, Poona, against charges of sedition
- 30–31 December 1916 Presides over the AIML Session in Lucknow which approves the Congress-League Lucknow Pact
- 29 July 1917 Presides over a Home Rule League meeting in Bombay, with Mrs Anne Besant and Tilak participating in it
- 19 April 1918 Marries Rutenbhai, daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit
- 11 December 1918 Disrupts meeting in honour of Lord Willingdon on his departure
- 28 March 1919 Resigns from the Imperial Legislative Council in protest against the Rowlatt Act

- 14–15 August 1919 Birth of Dina Jinnah in London
- 31 December 1919 Elected permanent President of AIML.
- 25 October 1920 Resigns from the Home Rule League (HRL), due to change in creed by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, whom he himself had inducted into HRL.
- 28 December 1920 Leaves Congress in disgust during the Nagpur Session, protesting against Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Resolution.
- 26 January 1921 Protests inclusion of his name in list of politicians opposed to Non-cooperation.
- 20 April 1921 Resigns from the Chairmanship of the Board of Directors of *The Bombay Chronicle*.
- 27 December 1921 Visits Gandhi, along with Malaviya and Jayakar, to persuade him to make peace with the government.
- February 1922 Organizes the Independent Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly, comprising seventeen members.
- 31 March 1923 Revives AIML after its eclipse by the Khilafat Conference
- 14 November 1923 Elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly by Bombay Muslims as an independent candidate
- 18 February 1924 Supports a resolution on grant of full self-governing dominion status to India, moved by Bepin Chandra Pal
- 6 March 1924 Demands 'Indianization' of the British Indian army.
- 24–25 March 1924 Re-elected President of AIML whose members endorse his policies. Thwarts attempts by members of the Khilafat Committee to capture the AIML.
- 3 December 1924 Submits a Minority Report on Reforms, opposing diarchy and calling for provincial autonomy
- 17 February 1925 Supports a resolution for establishment of a Supreme Court in India.
- 18 February 1925 Supports a resolution for establishment of a Military College in India
- 18 March 1926 Pleads for extension of reforms to the NWFP.
- 18 February 1927 Demands steps to make up the paucity of Sikh representation in government services.
- 20 March 1927 Presides over an informal conference of Muslim leaders and finalizes the Delhi Muslim Proposals.
- 16 May 1927 AICC accepts Delhi Muslim Proposals at Bombay.
- 30 December 1927 AICC ratifies acceptance of Delhi Muslim Proposals at Madras
- 28–29 December 1928 Jinnah's 'minimum six Muslim demands' are steamrolled by the All Parties National Convention, at Calcutta, called by Congress to approve the Nehru Report.
- 20 February 1929 Death of Rutie Jinnah in Bombay
- 28 March 1929 Presents 'Fourteen Points' at Delhi
- 30 November 1929 Visits Gandhi at Sabarmati Ashram along with Vithalbhai Patel, to arrange a Viceroy–Gandhi meeting on the proposed Round Table Conference.
- 12 November 1930 Participates in the First Round Table Conference in London
- 12 January 1931 Pleads for separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency.
- June–November 1931 Decides to settle in London. Purchases a villa on West Heath Road, Hampstead. Resigns from the Assembly. Attends Second Round Table Conference in London.
- 1932–35 Practices law in England, but keeps in touch with leading Indian Muslim leaders.
- April 1934 Re-elected President of the re-united Muslim League, at a joint session of the two factions, at Delhi. Presides over the AIML Council meeting and discusses the current political situation. Condemns the constitutional scheme with the exception of the Communal Award



- 11 October 1934 Returns unopposed to the Assembly, from the Bombay Muslim Constituency.
- 4-7 February 1935 Jinnah's three amendments to the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report are accepted by the Assembly, thereby ensuring retention of the Communal Award
- February-March 1935 Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad talks held to find a substitute for the Communal Award; talks failed to yield any concrete results.
- 24 October 1935 Returns to India. States that 'the new constitution [1935 Act] had been forced on us' and called on Indian leaders to 'hammer out a definite and common policy...'
- February-March 1936 Visits Lahore to seek a solution to the Shahidganj Mosque dispute
- 1 April 1936 On the inauguration of the new province of Sind, states, 'I sincerely hope that the two sister communities will wholeheartedly cooperate in the service of the province'.
- 9 April 1936 Inaugurates the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind Conference, at Delhi
- 11-12 April 1936 Attends the AIML session in Bombay. Lays down AIML's policy on the new constitution
- 21 May 1936 Sets up a 56-member Central Parliamentary Board to contest the upcoming provincial elections on an AIML ticket.
- 10-11 June 1936 AIML Central Parliamentary Board meets under his presidency at Lahore, and finalizes the manifesto drafted by him.
- 8 August 1936 Reconciles differences between the Nawab of Dacca's United Muslim Party, Fazlul Haq's Krishak Proja Party and the Provincial Muslim League, to get all the Muslim groups to run elections through the ML Parliamentary Board; but Fazlul Haq reneges later
- 11 October 1936 Launches election campaign in Lahore
- 3 January 1937 Referring to Nehru's 'two forces' (the Government and the Congress) dictum, at a mammoth public meeting in Calcutta, states, 'there is a third party in this country and that is Muslim India
- 27 May 1937 In a letter to Jinnah, Iqbal writes that AIML's future depends upon its ability to solve the problem of Muslim poverty, and urges him to transform AIML into a mass party
- 3 June 1937 Issues an appeal for funds for 'the uplift and advancement of Muslims and their welfare' and for establishing 'an independent press'.
- 21 June 1937 In a letter, Iqbal suggests, in a letter to Jinnah, that the only solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem is the division of India along the line of the Muslim majority provinces
- 7 July 1937 On the Congress decision to work the 1935 reforms, hopes that it would cooperate 'with the Muslim party in the legislatures', emphasizing that 'the need of India is to create a unified front'.
- 28 July 1937 AIML-Congress negotiations in the UP finally break down, with the Congress insisting on the AIML's merger into the Congress.
- 11 August 1937 In a letter, Iqbal suggests concentration of AIML activities on the Muslims of north-west India, and holding an AIML session at Lahore.
- 16 September 1937 Moves three amendments to the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Bill which are adopted by the Central Assembly.
- 7 October 1937 In a letter, Iqbal urges Jinnah to declare the AIML's 'clear cut policy' on the Communal Award

- 13–18 October 1937 Accorded a rousing reception by 20,000 persons on arrival at Lucknow. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Fazlul Haq and Sir Mohammad Saadullah Khan, the Premiers of Punjab, Bengal and Assam respectively, along with their followers, join the League. The green Islamic flag with crescent and star is hoisted over the League *pandal* for the first time. In his presidential address, Jinnah criticizes Congress for imposing Hindi, Bande Mataram and the Congress flag as the national language, national song and national flag, and asserts that 'the majority community have already shown that Hindustan is for the Hindus'. He urges the Muslims to organize themselves and establish solidarity and complete unity. The AIML changes its objective to the establishment of full independence in India in the form of a federation of democratic states. The chairman of the reception committee was Raja of Mahmudabad.
- 19 October 1937 In a letter Gandhi characterizes Jinnah's Presidential address in Lucknow as 'a declaration of war'.
- 23 October 1937 Presides over the All Bengal Muslim Conference at Behrampur, East Bengal. States, 'political power is a power that will safeguard our religion, culture or language'.
- 26–27 October 1937 Accorded a rousing welcome in Patna where he succeeds in getting all the Muslim parties to merge or coalesce with AIML.
- 26–28 December 1937 Addresses mammoth public meetings at Howrah Maidan and Mohammad Ali Park, Calcutta. Presides over the first session of the AIMS (All India Muslim Students Federation) at Calcutta. Urges audience to organize their community and raise their people economically, socially and educationally.
- 18 February 1938 On his call, Muslims throughout India observe Shahidganj Day.
- 3 March 1938 Urges Gandhi, in a letter, to recognize the AIML as the only authoritative and representative organization of the Muslims of India.
- 4 April 1938 AIML representatives in the Central Assembly decide to form an AIML party in the legislature.
- 17–18 April 1938 Presiding over the AIML special session in Calcutta, asserts that 'the Muslim League claims the status of complete equality with Congress, or any other organization'.
- 28 April 1938 Gandhi–Jinnah talks on the communal question start in Bombay, and continue over the next few months.
- 11 May 1938 Meets with Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Indian National Congress, in Bombay, to resolve the Hindu–Muslim question. Corresponds with Bose over the next few months.
- 8–10 October 1938 Presides over the Sindh Muslim League Conference at Karachi which calls for separate Hindu and Muslim federations.
- 18 November 1938 On his call, Muslims commemorate 'Kemal Day' throughout India on the demise of Mustafa Kemal Pasha of Turkey.
- 2 December 1938 Elected President for the following year unanimously by the AIML Council.
- 26–29 December 1938 Presides over the 26th annual session of the AIML at Patna. Criticizes the federal scheme, Congress ministries and the Congress high command. Addresses the AIMS Conference.
- 8 February 1939 At his call, Muslims observe 'Palestine Day'.
- 16 March 1939 Sends copies of the Pirpur Report and the Shareef Report to the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow.
- 6 May 1939 Declares in Bombay that the government should not settle the Federal issue with Congress alone.
- 30 July 1939 In a statement, urges the Viceroy and HMG not to impose the Federal Scheme upon an unwilling India.

- 8 September 1939 After meeting the Viceroy, states that 'to win the war, Government should take Muslims into confidence'
- 5 October 1939 Meets with the Viceroy, along with Gandhi
- 18 October 1939 In a statement, HMG agrees to review the Act of 1935.
- 1 November 1939 Confers with the Viceroy on a *modus vivendi* at the Centre, along with Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad.
- 3 November 1939 Spells out Muslim demands for cooperation in the war effort in a letter to the Viceroy
- 13 December 1939 Demands the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate Muslim grievances in Congress provinces.
- 22 December 1939 AIML celebrates a 'Day of Deliverance' on the resignation of Congress ministries
- 19 January 1940 Jinnah's article in *Time and Tide* (London) explains the AIML stand
- 22-24 March 1940 Presides over the historic AIML session in Lahore, calling for the partition of India.
- 19 April 1940 At his call, Muslims celebrate the 'Day of Declaration', to confirm the Lahore Resolution
- 8 August 1940 HMG issues a statement suspending the federal scheme for the duration of the war and assuring Muslims that their views on the issue would be considered.
- 1 November 1940 Declares that the observance of Muslim Countries Day on 1 November was meant to strengthen bonds of brotherhood between Indian Muslims and other Muslim countries.
- 14 November 1940 Inaugurates the Delhi MSF Conference in Delhi.
- 10 March 1941 Presiding over the Aligarh Students Union, states, 'Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India and you are its soldiers'.
- 23 March 1941 Calls on Muslims to celebrate Lahore Resolution Day.
- 25 March 1941 Pleads for Pakistan in a meeting with Sir Stafford Cripps.
- 12-15 April 1941 Presides over the 28th session of the AIML in Madras. Amendment passed in the AIML Constitution, making the Lahore Resolution its supreme objective
- 18 April 1941 Meets with leaders of the Justice Party, Madras Explores possibility of cooperation for attainment of common interests.
- 14 June 1941 In a letter to the Nizam of Hyderabad (Deccan), urges both the Nizam and Bahadur Yar Jang to avoid precipitating matters likely to disturb the status quo
- 22 July 1941 Disapproves expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the National Defence Council.
- 30 July 1941 Threatens disciplinary action against six AIML members who had joined the Viceroy's expanded Executive Council and the National Defence Council.
- 11 September 1941 Presides over the AIML Working Committee meeting, which welcomes the resignation of the Premiers of Punjab, Bengal and Assam from the National Defence Council
- 11 October 1941 *Dawn*, an English weekly, founded in Delhi, to espouse the Muslim cause in India
- 26 December 1941 Presides over the fifth annual session of the AIMSF, at Nagpur
- 2 January 1942 In an interview, warns HMG against a departure from the 8 August 1940 Declaration
- 15 February 1942 Criticizes the Haq Ministry of Bengal in his presidential address to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sirajganj.
- 6 March 1942 In a telegram to the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, states that any constitution without the AIML's approval would be unacceptable.
- 3-6 April 1942 Presiding over the 29th session of the AIML at Allahabad, declares that whatever proposals Sir Stafford Cripps might make, AIML would not accept anything less than Pakistan

- 13 April 1942 Explains, at a press conference, why the AIML had to reject the Cripps Proposals offered by the HMG
- 28 July 1942 In a letter to Rajagopalachari, emphasizes that fundamental principles underlying the partition proposal should be agreed to before details are discussed.
- 8 August 1942 Characterizes the Congress Working Committee's 'Quit India' resolution as a repetition of its old plan of establishing 'Hindu raj or a Hindu majority government'.
- 4 October 1942 In reply to Dr Ziauddin Ahmad, refuses to receive the honorary degree, saying, 'I have lived as plain Mr Jinnah and I hope to die as plain Mr Jinnah'
- 22 November 1942 Addressing the Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, states, 'No nation can make any progress without the cooperation of its women'
- 4 June 1943 At a press conference in Karachi, states that the AICC resolution of 8 August 1942 was 'a declaration of war' against the Muslim League.
- 3-4 July 1943 Attended the Balochistan Muslim League Conference in Quetta.
- 20 July 1943 An assassination attempt by Rafiq Sabir, a Khaksar, fails due to his [the Quaid's] alertness
- 13 August 1943 Muslims observe 'Day of Thanksgiving' on the Quaid's escape from the assailant's dagger.
- 23 August 1943 Writes to Lord Linlithgow on political conditions in Kashmir.
- 20-26 December Presides over the 31st session of the AIML in Karachi. States that 'Karachi will be the gateway for Pakistan'. Declares the Quran to be 'the sheet anchor of Muslim India'. Announces the setting up of a Committee of Action and Planning Committee
- 10 March 1944 In a speech in Aligarh, calls for raising the status of women.
- 18 April 1944 Receives the CR formula on partition from Rajagopalachari.
- 27 April 1944 Jinnah-Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana talks in Lahore end in failure.
- 30 April 1944 Punjab Muslim League Conference in Sialkot repudiates Tiwana
- 9-27 September 1944 Gandhi-Jinnah talks in Bombay break down. Correspondence released
- 22 January 1945 Repudiates Liaquat-Desai talks on formation of a reconstituted Viceroy's Council
- 25 June-14 July 1945 Attends Simla Conference. States that opposition to AIML's right to nominate all the Muslims on the Viceroy's Council led to the failure of the Conference
- 16 July 1945 Appeals for funds to fight elections.
- 6 August 1945 First contribution to the Muslim League Election Fund is presented at Bombay. States, 'Give me silver bullets and I will do the job'.
- August-September 1945 In response to his appeal several top ranking Congress and Unionist' stalwarts join the Muslim League
- 29 September 1945 In a cable to Prime Minister Attlee, opposes President Truman's proposal on Jewish immigration to Palestine, and warns against any departure from the White Paper
- 12 October 1945 In a statement, supports Indonesia's struggle for independence
- 4 December 1945 Elected to the Central Legislative Assembly
- 11 January 1946 Muslims observe Victory Day, to celebrate the Muslim League's one hundred per cent success in central assembly elections. Addresses a mammoth public meeting in Delhi.
- 24 February 1946 In a telegram, congratulates Punjab Muslims and PML President, Nawab of Mamdot, on ML's success in provincial polls.
- 4 April 1946 Meets the Cabinet Delegation.
- 7-9 April 1946 Presides over the Muslim Legislators' Convention, at Delhi, where the Lahore Resolution (1940) is amended to call for 'a sovereign independent state', comprising six provinces in north-west and north-east India



- 12 May 1946 Sends to the Cabinet Delegation, AIML constitutional proposals.
- 25 May 1946 Cabinet Mission Plan announced. Supplementary Statement of 25 May emphasizes that Grouping is an integral part of the Plan.
- 4-6 June 1946 AIML Council accepts the Cabinet Mission Plan.
- 29 June 1946 AIML Council withdraws acceptance due to Jawaharlal Nehru's 10 July Bombay Press Conference statement that Congress was not bound by any clause of the Cabinet Mission Plan, specially with regard to the grouping of provinces, and decides upon Direct Action to wrest Pakistan.
- 15 August 1946 Meets Jawaharlal Nehru in Bombay on formation of the Interim Government.
- 16 August 1946 AIML observes Direct Action Day. Great Calcutta killings begins
- 2 September 1946 An all-Congress Interim Government sworn in. Muslim India observes 'Black Day' and hoists black flags everywhere
- 29 September 1946 The Nawab of Bhopal induces Gandhi to accept the AIML as representative of all Indian Muslims
- September-October 1946 Meets with the Viceroy several times in connection with the Muslim League's entry into the Interim Government
- 25 October 1946 The AIML, led by Liaquat Ali Khan, joins the Interim Government.
- November 1946 Killings in Bihar State resulting in the death of 30,000 Muslims with 15,000 made homeless.
- 11 November 1946 Dissuades Muslims in majority areas from retaliation, saying 'Retaliation for Bihar will be catastrophic'.
- 6 December 1946 The British government in London endorses the AIML stand on the grouping provision in the Cabinet Mission Plan
- 9 December 1946 AIML boycotts the Constituent Assembly called in New Delhi
- 19 December 1946 Jinnah meets Mufti Emun el-Husayni and Egyptian leaders in Cairo.
- 28 January-February 1947 Muslim League civil disobedience movement initiated in Punjab against the Tiwana Ministry
- 20 February 1947 The Muslim League launches a civil disobedience movement against the Khan Sahib Ministry in the NWFP.
- 3 March 1947 Welcomes Tiwana Ministry's resignation.
- 4 March 1947 Master Tara Singh's speech sparks riots in Punjab.
- 5 April 1947 First meeting with the new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten.
- 15 April 1947 Jinnah-Gandhi joint appeal issued for peace.
- 20 April 1947 Denounces, in a statement, the proposed dissection of Bengal and Punjab, and considers it a 'grave error'.
- 2 June 1947 Along with Liaquat and Nishtar, attends leaders' conference, presided over by the Viceroy. HMG's Plan for partition circulated
- 3 June 1947 Partition Plan announced. Acceptance of the Mountbatten Plan by Congress, League and the Akali Dal, representing the Sikhs.
- 9-10 June 1947 AIML Council endorses 3 June Partition Plan
- 25 June 1947 Issues statement appealing to the Shahi Jurga, Balochistan, and non-official members of the Quetta Municipality to vote for Pakistan
- 26 June 1947 Issues statement appealing to the Muslims of Sylhet to vote for Pakistan.
- 5 July 1947 Liaquat Ali Khan informs Lord Mountbatten that Jinnah would be Governor-General of Pakistan.

- 26 July 1947 Formation of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.
- 7 August 1947 Calls for burying the past and starting afresh as two independent sovereign states, and wishes Hindustan 'prosperity and peace'.
- 11 August 1947 First Session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Elected President. Outlines policies and principles to govern Pakistan.
- 12 August 1947 Liaquat Ali Khan moves resolution that Jinnah be known as Quaid-i-Azam ('Leader of the Nation')
- 14 August 1947 Transfer-of-Power ceremonies held. Mountbatten transfers power to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of HMG.
- 15 August 1947 Sworn in as Governor-General of Pakistan. Appoints the first cabinet, headed by Liaquat Ali Khan. Pakistani flag was officially hoisted by Quaid-i-Azam.
- 28 August 1947 Participates in the Lahore Conference of Governors-General and Prime Ministers.
- 31 August 1947 In a talk broadcast from Lahore, states 'The Boundary Award may be unjust but it is binding on us'.
- 11 October 1947 Addresses joint meeting of civil and armed forces officers.
- 25 October 1947 In an interview with Reuter's correspondent, terms minorities in Pakistan as equal citizens.
- 1 November 1947 Discusses the Kashmir issue with Lord Mountbatten.
- 8 December 1947 Protests against the UN decision to partition Palestine, in a letter to Truman.
- 14-15 December 1947 Presides over the last meeting of the AIML Council at Karachi, which decides to split the AIML into two independent and separate bodies. With this, his tenure as AIML president comes to an end.
- 25 January 1948 Addressing the Karachi Bar Association states that Islamic principles are as applicable to our lives today as they were 1,300 years ago.
- 30 January 1948 Sends a condolence message on Gandhi's assassination.
- 21 February 1948 Addresses officers and men of the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments in Malir.
- Presided over Pakistan Muslim League Council, which discussed Pakistan Muslim League's new draft constitution. Jinnah said that the PML should hereafter be regarded purely as a political party and not, in effect, as the government of Pakistan. He also proposed that no official of the government, either at the centre or in the provinces, should hold any office in the PML. He rejected the proposal that an exception be made in his case since as head of the state he 'must hold the balance evenly and fairly amongst such parties as may come into existence'.
- February 1948 In a talk broadcast to the US, states that the Pakistan constitution would be 'a democratic type, embodying the essential principle of Islam', but 'is not going to be a theocratic state'.
- 21 March 1948 Addresses mammoth public meeting in Dacca. Declares that Urdu would be the State language of Pakistan
- 26 March 1948 Addresses a civic reception at Chittagong; recommends social justice and Islamic Socialism which emphasized equality and brotherhood of man.
- 27 April 1948 Addresses members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce
- 14 June 1948 Addresses Staff College, Quetta.
- 1 July 1948 Performs the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, the last public function he attends. Calls for evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life.
- 14 July 1948 Moves to Ziarat for health reasons.

- 7 August 1948* In his Eid-ul-Fitr message, appeals to Muslim states to stand united and confront the 'drama of power politics' that was being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir.
- 13 August 1948* Moves back to Quetta to convalesce.
- 15 August 1948* Issues Independence Day message.
- 1 September 1948* His health deteriorates.
- 11 September 1948* Dies in Karachi.
- 12 September 1948* State funeral.





*Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three.*

STANLEY WOLPERT,  
*Jinnah of Pakistan*



# About the Editors

The first edition of the 'Jinnah Anthology' was compiled and edited by Liaquat Merchant and was brought out concurrently with the launch of the film *Jinnah* which was premiered by the Jinnah Society at the Governor House, Karachi in 1999. The original book was sponsored by the corporate sector in Pakistan and was published by Oxford University Press.

The second edition of *The Jinnah Anthology* has been compiled and edited once again by Liaquat H. Merchant but this time in conjunction with Professor Sharif Al Mujahid. Oxford University Press is pleased to introduce the two editors.

## LIAQUAT H. MERCHANT S.I.



Liaquat H. Merchant is a lawyer by profession who qualified in Bombay (India) and has been practising law since 1964. He is a barrister from Gray's Inn and has the distinction of being one of Pakistan's reputed civil lawyers.

Liaquat Merchant is the grandson of Jinnah's sister Mariambai who lived in Bombay. Mr Merchant was appointed as Administrator of the Estate of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah by the High Court of Sindh at Karachi in 1980 and was also appointed as a Trustee of the Quaid-i-Azam Aligarh Education Trust by the same High Court in 1984. Liaquat Merchant is the Founder and Managing Trustee of the Jinnah Foundation a registered charitable trust which renders services to the poor, needy and deserving sections of society in the field of human development (health and education) as well as the Founder President of the Jinnah Society which was established by him to propagate the principles, ideals and vision of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a nation building exercise. Liaquat Merchant is a former Deputy Attorney General for Pakistan and has established a large number of trusts and other non-governmental organizations in Pakistan on which he serves as a member. Education and Health are his passion and social service takes up a large part of his time.

Liaquat Merchant has been responsible for various publications on Jinnah including *Jinnah a Judicial Verdict*, *The Jinnah Anthology*, *M.A. Jinnah CD ROM Project* and *Quotes from the Quaid*.

In recognition of the services rendered by Liaquat Merchant in the field of education and health and propagation of the ideals, principles and vision of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah by his various publications and for establishing and managing various Jinnah related institutions involving public services, the President of Pakistan conferred *Sitara-i-Imtiaz* on him in the year 2008.

Professor Sharif Al Mujahid, S.I., Distinguished National Professor, Higher Education Commission, Pakistan is a renowned scholar of the Pakistan Movement and the founder of Pakistan, M.A. Jinnah. He was educated at Madras, Stanford, McGill and Syracuse universities. He was a Fulbright-Hays scholar at Stanford (1951-52), Research Fellow at McGill (1952-54), an Asia Foundation Grantee at Syracuse (1967-70), an American Institute of Pakistan Studies (AIPS) Lecture Series awardee (1978) at several universities in the US and Canada. He worked in various editorial positions in newspapers and feature syndicates in India, Pakistan, Canada, and the US.



During his 21-year (1955-76) stint at the Karachi University, Professor Mujahid pioneered and promoted journalism education and mass communication research in Pakistan. Besides contributing papers to international journals, he conducted studies for East-West Communication Institute (Honolulu), Planning Commission (Pakistan), Asian Mass Communication and Information Centre (AMIC) (Singapore), and Unesco. As Founding Director of the Quaid-i-Azam Academy, he pioneered research studies on the Muslim Freedom Movement and the founding fathers of Pakistan. He has served as member of Editorial Boards of several research journals, both in Pakistan and abroad.

Professor Mujahid's publications include six major works, ten edited works, co-authored works, and twenty-two works (original/translated) in Urdu, Arabic, French, Portuguese and other languages. One of his works, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (1981; two editions. In Pakistan and two 'pirated' reprints in India), was the only work among all those on Pakistan's founder published since 1940 to qualify for the President's Award on Best Books on Quaid-i-Azam. He has recently co-edited Unesco's *History of Humanity*, Vol. VI, and edited *In Quest of Jinnah* (2007), the only oral history on Pakistan's founding father. His other works include *Ideology of Pakistan* (2001); *Ideological Foundations of Pakistan* (1999); *Muslim League Documents, Vol. I: 1900-1908* (1990); *Quaid-i-Azam and His Times: A Compendium, Vol. I: 1876-1937* (1990); and *Indian Secularism: A Case Study of Muslim Minority* (1970). He is the Honorary Director of the Jinnah Resource Centre and member of the Jinnah Society (Karachi) since 2007. In recognition of his scholastic accomplishments he was awarded *Aizaz-e-Kamal* in 2001 and *Sitara-e-Imtiaz* in 2006 by the President of Pakistan.